VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER ONE SPRING 1988 The Journal of Historical Review INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

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—Reviews—

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—HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENT—

West German Court Rejects Judge Staeglich's Appeal
The Mueller Document

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From the Editor

With the appearance of this first number of Volume Eight, *The Journal of Historical Review* ends its "sabbatical," and resumes its vital mission of revising and correcting propaganda untruths disseminated in the name of history to the woe of men and women of good will everywhere. In its first seven volumes *The Journal* established itself as the world's leading scholarly voice against the gas-chamber hoax and the other falsehoods and legends associated with the Holocaust story. *The Journal* was also able to revitalize and carry forward the program of Harry Elmer Barnes and his school, reviewing the diplomatic history of the twentieth century, examining the largely veiled war crimes of the victors, and debunking atrocities falsely ascribed to the vanquished.

This issue builds on and advances the tradition established by its predecessors. As befits *The Journal's* primary focus, contemporary history, the articles are timely indeed, from Henri Roques' account of the imbroglio that erupted in France two years ago when he dared subject the "confessions" of Kurt Gerstein—until then regarded as a key "proof" of the gas-chamber story—to a close textual examination, to the latest news from Germany and Austria regarding Judge Stäglich's efforts to regain his duly earned doctorate and the explosive revelations of the Müller document. The essential characteristics of Historical Revisionism, i.e., a commitment to a spirit of critical doubt *and* an obligation to truthfulness as a component of personal honor, shine through in Clarence Lang's study of the background to the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt as well as General Otto Ernst Remer's account of his role in suppressing the July 20, 1944 anti-Hitler putsch, whose authors for some time have been objects of a virtual state cult in West Germany.

Dr. Alexander Berkis reminds us of the many crimes of the Soviet Union in Latvia and the other two Baltic states, crimes that advocates of *glasnost* are all too willing to sweep under the rug in exchange for promised Soviet amity, often sought by dusting off Soviet atrocity stories directed not only at Germans but at Balts, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and other subject peoples of Eastern and Central Europe. IHR Editorial Advisory Committee member Martin Larson reports on the latest developments in the ongoing attempts to force publication of the long since deciphered and translated, but curiously withheld, Dead Sea Scrolls.

As always, *The Journal* helps readers stay abreast of historiographical developments in its *Review* and *Historical News and Comment* sections, which in this issue feature the incomparable Robert Faurisson on *Shoah*, Dr. Stäglich's report, and reviews from

(continued on page 127)

From the Gerstein Affair to the Roques Affair

HENRI ROQUES
Translated by Ronald V. Percival
(Paper Presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference)

On February 21, 1979, the newspaper *Le Monde*, the Paris daily, published a text titled "The Hitler Policy of Extermination: A Declaration by Historians." This declaration, whose style was intended to be solemn and whose conclusions were meant to be irrefutable, had been drafted by two persons:

—Léon Poliakov, former director of research at the C.N.R.S. (the National Center for Scientific Research), an author of widely-distributed books translated into several languages and often republished, all devoted to the questions of anti-Semitism and the persecutions suffered by the Jews under the Third Reich (for example: *The Breviary of Hate, The Third Reich and the Jews, The Trial at Jerusalem);*

—Pierre Vidal-Naquet, a professor at the School of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences at Paris, a specialist in ancient Greek history but at the same time the chief of a group of university academics who, at the time, had decided to oppose vigorously the Revisionist theses expounded in France by Professor Robert Faurisson. Pierre Vidal-Naquet published in 1980 a work under the title: *The Jews, Memory and the Present.*

Poliakov and Vidal-Naquet had obtained, in order to support their text, the signatures of thirty-two other historians. Among the latter, who worked or taught at the College of France, at the National Center for Scientific Research, in the French universities, at the School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences and at the Practical School of Advanced Studies, one could identify the names of some academics very well-known in France as historians. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there was only a small minority of specialists in contemporary history and, more particularly, in the history of the Second World War.

The declaration began as follows:

> Since the end of the Second World War, it has happened on several occasions that publicists, sometimes taking the title of historians, have cast doubt on the veracity of the evidence of the Hitler policy of extermination. This evidence had, in 1945, a glaring obviousness. The great majority of the deportees today are dead. There remain their writings and the archives of the Third Reich, but this documentation does not always prevent reactions which are in the form of a "critique" in appearance only.

The declaration ends with the following bewildering phrases:

> It is not necessary to ask oneself how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was possible technically because it took place. Such is the obligatory point of departure for all historical inquiry on the subject. It is our concern simply to recall this truth: there is not, there cannot be, any debate on the existence of the gas chambers.

In addition, in the fourth paragraph of this text, bearing the subtitle "The Evidence," one can read the following: "A witness, a document, can always be suspected. The criticism of texts is one of the fundamental rules of our profession."

Personally, I have always remembered very specially this last sentence and I asked myself: "Has there been any critical textual evaluation of sufficient substance to deal with the rare written accounts which claim to attest the existence of homicidal gas chambers in the Nazi concentration camps?"

To this question, I have replied in the negative. Now, in this declaration of the historians, an evidence in writing was partially reproduced; it came from what was customarily called the "Gerstein Report" (in German, *Gerstein-Bericht*). The writers of the declaration, Léon Poliakov and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, presented it in these terms:

> From amongst so very much evidence, which obviously cannot come from those who have been killed, is it necessary to recall that of the SS [officer] Gerstein, who tried in vain to alert, as early as 1942, the civil and religious authorities on what was happening in these camps? Written by himself, April 26, 1945, for the French authorities, in hesitant French, his account, indisputable in its essentials, of what he had seen at Belzec is only the more moving.

This preamble was followed by an extract of the Gerstein report in its most widely-known version, which carries the reference PS-1553, a total of 55 lines spread over two columns of the newspaper *Le Monde*, on page twenty-three.

Why was this evidence chosen "from amongst so very much evidence"? Apparently because Léon Poliakov and Pierre Vidal-Naquet believed it to be the most convincing of all the written evidence relating to the problem of the homicidal gas chambers. Léon Poliakov had long experience of this evidence because he had utilized it very often in his writings. As far as Pierre Vidal-Naquet was concerned, he put his trust in Léon Poliakov, who was

considered to be one of the best specialists, perhaps even the best specialist, on this question in France. As for the thirty-two cosignatories to the declaration, it is very probable that the Gerstein report was hardly known to them, and that the reputations of the two initiators of the declaration sufficed to obtain their signatures.

* * * * *

The Gerstein evidence has a unique character: it is the only evidence to have been given spontaneously by a German officer who had been a member of the Waffen SS.

Gerstein was described by his hagiographers as "a saint astray in our century," as "God's spy." For Poliakov, this German was "a righteous Gentile."

However, the Gerstein report began its career badly: it was, in fact, rejected as proof by the Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, which had called for the document during its session of January 30, 1946. Subsequently, the Gerstein account was used in legal proceedings, notably in the Doctors' Trial of November 1947 and, later, in the Eichmann Trial at Jerusalem in 1961.

If a critical review of the various published versions of the texts was indispensable, it seemed clear to me that it was necessary to begin by a critical review of the texts left by Gerstein or which were attributed to him.

I am neither an academic nor an historian. My career has been spent in administration in the private sector, and I took my retirement in 1981. It happens that, since 1945, I have been greatly interested in several historical questions relating to the Second World War; in this way I have cultivated for a very long time what you Americans, I believe, call a "hobby."

I was a friend of the historian Paul Rassinier, whom we all recognize as the spiritual father of Holocaust Revisionism. I often have to explain Paul Rassinier's work to audiences who are not fully aware or whose knowledge of his work is poor. It is, for me, an immense pleasure to speak of the great and honest man who was Paul Rassinier. But I believe that here it is quite unnecessary to recall at length the historian whom you know well and whom you admire.

I had read, during the 1950's and the 1960's, the works of Rassinier; I had long conversations with him at his home in the Paris suburbs between 1962 and 1967, which was the year of his untimely death. Rassinier certainly mentioned the Gerstein story; in regard to the witness Pfannenstiel, he even pointed out to me that his name meant "handle of the frying pan." Unaware that one day I should write a thesis on the Gerstein texts, I did not pay sufficient attention to Paul Rassinier on this subject.

I did, however, have a record in a comparative presentation made by Rassinier in his book *The Drama of the European Jews*. On ten to

twelve pages, he presented side by side:

—on the one hand, the French version of the document attributed to Gerstein by Léon Poliakov in 1951 in his book *The Breviary of Hate;*

—on the other hand, the French version of the document attributed to Gerstein by the tribunal at Jerusalem in 1961 and printed by the same Poliakov in *The Trial at Jerusalem.*

Paul Rassinier pointed out important and inexplicable differences between these extracts of the same original document.

Moreover, a remark made by the historian stayed always in my memory: "Of all the evidence relating to the homicidal gas chambers," Rassinier had said to me, "the craziest, the most extravagant, is that of Gerstein."

Then, in 1979, almost twelve years after the death of my friend, I found once more the evidence he had described as crazy and extravagant in a declaration by historians, signed by thirty-four French academics.

I informed Professor Robert Faurisson, with whom I was already in contact, of my stupefaction. He shared my indignation, the more so because he possessed a solid documentation on this subject. The idea of bringing matters out into the open progressively imposed itself on me; I reread the books of Rassinier, those of Léon Poliakov, of Saul Friedländer and of Pierre Joffroy. In 1981, I took my professional retirement and began my work of research and study. In the course of this same year 1981, a trial confronted Robert Faurisson with Léon Poliakov; the former having written, in one of his works, that the latter was a manipulator and fabricator of texts, precisely a propos the Gerstein story.

Poliakov, urged by his followers, brought a complaint of defamation against Faurisson. At the request of Professor Faurisson and as witness at this trial, I prepared for the attention of the judges a memorandum which showed very clearly the manipulations and fabrications of Gerstein's texts by Poliakov. But the Advocate-General recalled to the attention of the court in his summation that there was defamation in regard to a person from the moment that injurious remarks were made as to his reputation, even if those remarks were true. As a consequence, Professor Faurisson was found guilty.

Now quite determined to prepare a university thesis in order to present a critical evaluation of the "confessions" of Kurt Gerstein, I succeeded in obtaining the agreement of a professor of liturature to his becoming director of studies for my thesis.

On February 5, 1982, I registered myself in the correct manner at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne.

* * * * *

My researches were basically undertaken in two places:

1. In the Archives of the Evangelical Church of Bielefeld in Westphalia, which possesses a unique file concerning Gerstein; the majority of these documents have been sent to the archives by the widow of the former SS officer. It was in these archives that I discovered a sixth version of the "confessions," thus adding to the five versions already known but never published in full.

2. At the Direction of Military Justice in Paris, where the file on the war criminal Kurt Gerstein, accused of murder and complicity in murder on July 5, 1945 by a military examining magistrate, is preserved. The Gerstein file had mysteriously disappeared from the French military archives from November 1945 until August 1971. On the latter date, it was rediscovered "by chance." It seems that, before me, no one had sought seriously to study the documents contained in this file.

When I had collected an important number of these documents, often unpublished, I began the writing of my thesis. My director of studies at the Sorbonne advised me; I had great need of his advice, for I was not familiar with the academic methods applicable to textual criticism. I had visualized devoting one chapter to the cuts in the text made in the published versions, to the substitutions of words and figures, to the amalgams made in utilizing extracts from different versions, etc. My director of studies did not approve of this project; such a chapter would have brought into question the integrity of authors known for their Exterminationist works. I then opted for another method: throughout the length of my thesis, I have noted the inexplicable anomalies in the numerous alleged reproductions of Gerstein's texts.

My work thus took the following form:

–Introduction	
–Chapter One:	Establishment of the Texts
–Chapter Two:	Authenticity of the Texts
–Chapter Three:	Veracity of the Texts
–Chapter Four:	Gerstein's "Confessions" and the Views of Their Readers.
–Conclusion	

At the end of Chapter One, I have drawn up large tables which permit the reader to compare the principal extracts of the "confessions" of Gerstein according to the six versions, or even the eight versions, since version number five has two different texts in French and a translation in English.

My study of the authenticity of the texts led me to doubt the

authenticity of the two versions written in German; I consider, in fact, that these two German texts have been fabricated, at least partially, from the texts in French which themselves appear to have been composed by Gerstein. One of these two texts, the one dated May 4, 1945, was moreover rediscovered in the spring of 1946, in circumstances which are unclear, at the Hotel Mohren of Rottweil in the Württemberg region, where Gerstein had been interned as a prisoner of war by the French army.

In regard to the veracity of the texts, the most remarkable aspect is to be found in the enumeration of the improbabilities and unrealistic assertions which are scattered throughout the account of the SS officer. I have enumerated 29, but I am fully aware that my list is incomplete. I shall not burden you with a recital of these twenty-nine improbabilities; some are moreover very well known.

According to Gerstein, in three small camps in Poland, named Belzec, Treblinka and Sobibor, sixty-thousand persons were exterminated every day. Now, for these three camps, the *Encylopaedia Judaica* gives the following statistics which are not, however, based on any scientific foundation: one million, six-hundred thousand persons, which is already hardly credible. According to Gerstein, the total of the victims would be twenty-eight millions, by reason of the sixty-thousand daily deaths during the periods when officially the camps were functioning. In addition, in the version of his "confessions" which carries the code PS-1553, Gerstein himself gives the figure of twenty-five million victims.

This strange SS officer, who did not lack imagination, saw piles of shoes or clothing that reached a height of thirty-five to forty meters, which is the equivalent of a building of ten to twelve floors. Was he not aware of the absurdity of such a statement? How could anyone climb such a height to deposit his shoes? Additionally, these mounds of shoes would have been visible from a very considerable distance, while at the same time Gerstein tells us that the exterminations in the camps had to be effected with the utmost secrecy.

Again, Gerstein tells us in each of the versions of his story that seven-hundred to eight-hundred persons were packed into a room of twenty-five square meters. A simple arithmetical division permits us to question the possibility of packing thirty persons or thereabouts into one square meter.

Finally, Gerstein boasts of having made his cargo of hydrocyanic acid disappear by burying it twelve-hundred meters before the camp entrance. One can already believe that the operation could not have been easy.

But, to crown the improbabilities, the SS officer pretends that no one asked him for a report on his mission when he returned to Berlin. Was it customary in the German army, or in any other army in the world, to assign an officer to an ultra-secret mission and then

not bother to inquire whether this mission had been fulfilled?

The conclusion of my thesis specifies the results I had proposed to attain:

1. to offer to historians, by my critical edition of the texts commonly called the "Gerstein Report," a solid base on which these historians could form their opinions;

2. to demonstrate that the SS officer's story does not have the value one should require of a historical document;

3. to encourage my readers to ask questions, and in particular the following question: "Why have the Exterminationists considered a text so extravagant and so crammed with improbabilities as being major evidence, as one of the best proofs of the existence of the gas chambers?"

I ended my conclusion with a saying borrowed from a French writer of Jewish origin, Raymond Aron: "the fertile spirit of doubt." This expression is very fine: it explains simply the necessity of exercising our critical intelligence in every scientific study, including, naturally, the study of history.[1]

* * * * *

My work was finished at the beginning of April 1984; on that date I sent a copy of my thesis to the professor at the Sorbonne who had agreed to direct my studies.

Normally, I should have formally argued my thesis in the following weeks, at all events before June 30, 1984. But a jury composed of three professors was necessary; my director of studies, who was a professor of letters, thus had to find two colleagues, one of whom at least had to be a historian, in order to constitute this famous jury. He had warned me: by reason of the "explosive character" of this thesis, it would be imperative to have a jury "above all suspicion."

I had myself proposed as members of the jury the three professors who, the following year, constituted the jury at the University of Nantes. But the professor of Paris-Sorbonne objected to them. In effect, my director of studies in Paris was a victim of the intellectual terrorism which is rife throughout France as in the other European countries and even North America. He was frightened at the possibility of underwriting a thesis which would support Revisionist opinions.

The months passed by with the situation unresolved.

At the beginning of 1985, I requested the Paris professor to withdraw and with much delight I accepted the offer of a courageous professor of the University of Nantes to become my new director of studies for the thesis. The jury was then rapidly formed. It is a pleasure for me to give you the names of the members of this

panel. They are:

—Professor Jean-Claude Rivière, who teaches literature at the University of Nantes;

—Professor Jean-Paul Allard, who teaches German language and literature at the University of Lyon-III;

—Professor Pierre Zind, who teaches modern history at the University of Lyon-II.

The oral argument of my thesis took place on June 15, 1985, in full accordance with all the established regulations.

In the autumn of 1985, a communiqué was sent to the press and to a certain number of historians to inform them of the success of my thesis and of my duly being awarded a doctorate for research, in the Faculty of Letters. With the exception of some brief reports in some friendly newspapers, a great silence supervened until April 1986.

On April 18, 1986 (the date is worth noting), a letter was sent to me by the University of Nantes informing me that the certificate of my diploma was at my disposal; the letter suggested either that I should go personally to collect it or that I should send the small sum of money required so that the diploma could be mailed. My mind and my conscience both being quite untroubled, I did not make the journey to Nantes. Now, to be sure, I regret my decision, because the diploma would then have been handed to me and I could have shown it to you today.

About the twenty-fourth of April, that is to say some days later, Professor Jean-Claude Rivière telephoned me to tell me of his consternation: the issue of *Le Monde juif* [The Jewish World] for the first quarter of 1986 had just been profusely distributed at the University of Nantes, principally by dropping free copies into the postboxes of the teaching staff and other key personnel. This issue contained a lengthy article by Georges Wellers, who is the editor of *Le Monde juif* and, at the same time, a principal member of the managing committee of the Center for Jewish Documentation in Paris.

The Wellers article did not address itself properly to the issues raised in my thesis: academically, or historically, it was insignificant. But it was a well-calculated and quite persuasive *propaganda* attack; and we have to bear in mind that the vast majority of the persons who read it—in all innocence—had not read my thesis, which was then unpublished, and were thus unaware of the basic facts.

So, to give the Devil his due—or rather, in this case Georges Wellers—his article was a clever and well-planned propaganda effort. The primary purpose, obviously, was not to refute my thesis on matters of fact or interpretation but to embarrass the University: and, in this context, it succeeded. From this issue of *Le Monde juif*,

the scandal of the Roques Affair exploded, though for a further three weeks the scandal was confined to the region of Nantes.

The scandal of the Roques Affair reached Paris and the whole of France on May 22-23, 1986.

One evening, a so-called debate was organized, during a peak listening period, on a major radio channel. In the guise of a debate, it was rather more an attempt at a lynching party. I had beside me my friend and lawyer Maître Eric Delcroix: thus, we were two, confronting six adversaries who, for the most part, were experienced in radio phone-in debates. In the course of the broadcast two Ministers, one of whom, Alain Devaquet, was the Minister of Research and Higher Education, intervened by telephone. Madame Simone Veil, a member of the European Parliament and a former president of that institution, also a former deportee to Auschwitz, likewise intervened.

Maître Delcroix and I came out of this pre-arranged ambush fairly well; our adversaries lost their self-control to the extent of offering us insults. The following day, the twenty-fourth of May, all the national press was writing of the "affair," often on the front page.

On the twenty-eighth of May a demonstration was held in Paris in front of the Jewish Memorial, with the participation of several government ministers and other political personalities. On the same day, the affair was discussed with indignation at the National Assembly in Paris, as well as the Knesset in Jerusalem.

On the thirtieth of May, several persons reputed to be historians met together in front of the press at the Institute of Modern History, in order to declare my thesis "completely invalid." This round table was composed entirely of Exterminationist theoreticians. This is the first occasion in the history of French universities that a thesis accepted by a properly constituted university jury was then rejected by a sort of extra-mural and self-appointed anti-jury, not qualified by any sort of university authority and, moreover, in the absence of the doctoral candidate! For what reason did these learned critics believe it was not necessary to invite me to be present to defend my thesis? It is obvious that they had no wish to hear me cite the irrefutable fact in my favor, namely, the palpable unreliability of Gerstein's evidence.

Throughout the whole of the month of June 1986, that is to say one year after the success of my thesis, the rector of the University of Nantes was obliged to complete a strange and laborious task. Charged by the Minister of Research and Higher Education to undertake an administrative inquiry, he examined with a magnifying glass my registration at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne, the transfer of my file to the University of Nantes, and the circumstances in which the oral argumentation on my thesis had been held. In fact, it was absolutely imperative for him to produce for his minister a report of his inquiry making it appear that there

had been some error in the formalities.

You are all aware that if you look carefully enough you can always arrive at finding some error in some formality or other; failing which, an error in the formalities can also be fabricated. In this way, a fictitious signature, one which even if authentic would have been perfectly useless, was "discovered" on the report on my oral defense for the thesis. I shall not say more on this ridiculous affair for the moment, but if a question is put to me on this matter, I shall give you every possible explanation in my reply.[2]

On July 2, 1986, in the course of a noisy press conference, the minister, Alain Devaquet, flanked by the rector of the Academy of Nantes and the administrator of the University of Nantes, announced to all the media the cancellation of my successful defense on the thesis.

The moral of this story is summed up in a French proverb which probably has its equivalent in the English-speaking countries: "When someone wants to drown his dog, he says it has rabies."

When questioned that same evening by the reporters on French radio, my essential words were:

> I receive the minister's decision with a great outburst of laughter. Since it is impossible to attack the thesis itself, a pretext has anxiously been sought regarding some pretended error in the formalities. This course of action is ridiculous and scandalous. But my thesis exists and there are innumerable people willing to read it. As of now, I am beginning proceedings before the Administrative Tribunal of Nantes in order to regain my doctorate.

The media earthquake whose epicenter was, at the end of April 1986, at Nantes had, by July, reached your "neighbors" in Los Angeles; that is to say the famous Simon Wiesenthal Center. Upon the announcement of the annulment of my thesis, this Center published a communiqué particularly insulting to France. I quote this statement:

> This measure shows that France recognizes not only its responsibility towards the victims of Nazi Germany, but also the menace threatening university standards and historical truth raised by those who attempt to deny the crimes of the Third Reich or to exonerate them.

The same day, the French prime minister, Jacques Chirac, let it be known through his spokesman that "solemnly and personally he was outraged." Do not imagine that Monsieur Chirac was outraged by the insolent communiqué of the Simon Wiesenthal Center! Not at all. He was outraged "by the subject of my thesis, its lack of seriousness and the attitude adopted." Surely it is superfluous to inquire whether Monsieur the Prime Minister had read or had had someone read my thesis for him, even in part. Certain attitudes and declarations by the

"great ones of this world" are often dictated by conditioned reflexes.

* * * * *

Exactly four weeks after this absurd ministerial decision, I held in my turn a press conference in a large Paris hotel. The association SOS-Racism, which, with powerful private and public support, militates for a French "melting-pot," sent twenty or thirty of its members to prevent me from holding this conference. These troublemakers succeeded only in delaying the conference for about an hour and a half: when the police, who had been alerted at the start, decided to intervene, the rowdies disappeared within a few seconds and the press conference proceeded in the normal way. Paradoxically the most attentive listeners were the foreign journalists, in particular the Arabs and the Chinese. My alleged "racism" does not seem to have shocked them.

My press conference had been chaired by a young Swiss lady, a teacher of French and history at a high school in Lausanne; her name is Mariette Paschoud. She had been one of the first to pay respect to the seriousness of my thesis, in an article published by a periodical in Lausanne. Upon her return to Switzerland, Mariette Paschoud was the target of a campaign of calumny conducted by the press in her country and stirred up by certain very influential personalities, notably the Grand Rabbi of Lausanne. For more than six months the Paschoud Affair developed, at the end of which Mariette Paschoud had to resign her position as teacher and accept a transfer to an archives department; thus, no longer in contact with the students or teaching colleagues, she no longer risks "polluting them ideologically."

Happily, the Roques Affair included some encouraging events.

On August 2-3, 1986 the newspaper *Ouest-France*, which is the regional daily with the widest distribution in France, published two articles in support of my thesis. In particular, it printed an interview with an academic of great repute, Michel de Boüard, who is an historian and a member of the Institute of France. Monsieur Boüard was deported to the concentration camp of Mauthausen for acts of resistance during the occupation; in this respect, he holds many decorations and, as a historian, is a member of the Institute of Modern History. With great intellectual honesty and great courage, in view of the climate surrounding the Roques Affair, Monsieur de Boüard declared principally: "The thesis of Monsieur Roques is a good critical publication. If I had been a member of the jury, I should probably have accorded the grade "Very Good" to this thesis." This statement of his position by an academic as respected and as competent as Monsieur de Boüard has greatly troubled the consciences of many of his colleagues.

One other expression of support was especially precious to me:

that of an historian very well known in France, Alain Decaux, a member of the Académie Française. Alain Decaux, in a letter published by a Paris daily on September 13, 1986, expressed himself clearly on the matter. He said essentially that, after having read through the complete thesis, he maintained what he had already written on the subject, namely, that he believed Henri Roques to be the best-informed man on the subject of Gerstein and that future historians of the subject of gas chambers would have to take Henri Roques' work into account. He even described my work as "remarkable." He makes clear, however, that he does not share all my conclusions.

Everyone knows that one can judge a thesis to be a good thesis even if one disputes its conclusions. Additionally, in the interview which I have previously quoted, Monsieur de Boüard states clearly: "A thesis is not a catechism. A thesis is to be discussed . . ."

In the last months of 1986 and the first months of 1987, there were still frequent articles and mentions of my thesis in the newspapers, on the radio and even on television.

* * * * *

My critical evaluation of the texts of the "confessions" of Kurt Gerstein had been done with a view to serving historical science in a Revisionist spirit and to accord it a university label. This action, judged to be scandalous by conformists of all kinds, has given rise to a tornado in the media and in certain political circles not only in France but overseas as well, most especially in Israel.

It is appropriate to study the reactions caused by my thesis among academics, and more especially historians, with careful attention.

The first academic requested to give his opinion was Dean Paul Malvy, Provisional Administrator of the University of Nantes. Monsieur Malvy is a professor of medicine. On May 5, 1986 he made the following statement to the daily *Ouest-France:*

> I wish only to point out that the matters expressed in a thesis commit only the author of that thesis and do not commit the university in which that thesis is submitted in any way at all. I have looked through this work. There is not, alas, any ambiguity about the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the texts studied . . . Personally, this perusal has disturbed me deeply; everyone will easily understand the reasons why; I was twenty years of age in 1942 and, in 1945, I was in Poland. I held in my hands, wrapped in twists of newspaper, with or without a label, that which has a name: ashes.

Those are the exact terms used by Dean Malvy. I should explain that Monsieur Malvy, a student of medicine in 1945, was a member of a mission charged with the repatriation of deportees; and it was for this reason that he visited the concentration camps in Poland shortly after the war. The statement of the Nantes academic is, taken

as a whole, honest. He points out that my analysis of the texts led me to conclude that Gerstein's evidence has no historic value; he adds that reading through my thesis has deeply disturbed him. He recalls, at the end, a personal memory: he has held in his hands twists of newspaper containing ashes. Thus, there is no mention of the homicidal gas chambers in the remarks of the Dean Malvy; he has simply seen ashes which came from the incineration of bodies in the crematoriums.

On May 6, 1986, the following day, the national press in France reproduced Dean Malvy's statement and, naturally, the reproduction was often inaccurate. So we have sometimes been able to read that Dean Malvy had seen, in the Polish camps, "the gas chambers functioning" [*sic*]; we have even been able to read that Dean Malvy had held in his hands twists of newspaper containing "the ashes of his relatives" [*sic*]. Here we have a fine example of misinformation by the media!

The second academic who made his feelings known was the Minister of Research and Higher Education, Alain Devaquet himself. Strangely, the minister chose to present himself in the context of a radio phone-in program to which I had been invited on the twenty-third of May, a program that I have previously mentioned.

What did Alain Devaquet say on this evening? He addressed his remarks to the program moderator, Jean-Pierre Elkabach, in the following terms:

> You know, Monsieur Elkabach, that the offense of freely expressing an opinion does not exist in our society. You know that the liberty of expression is a rule of French universities. But in this particular case, this freedom leads to a pseudo-science. It is genuine science which should reply and I believe, for my part, that the only true sanction, whether it be intellectual, or whether it be above all moral, is the overwhelming repudiation, the overwhelming disapproval, the overwhelming indignation of the whole scientific community. In particular, I believe that the true historians should rise as one man.

As you will notice, the minister's tone was imbued with passion and solemnity. On that day, he called for a general mobilization against the Revisionists.

Now, it is about eighteen months since the minister launched this call to arms and, in France, we still await any authentic disapproval, any repudiation by the scientific community, solely excepting the grotesque round table of which I have just now spoken. From the historians acknowledged for their competence in regard to the problems of the Second World War, we have heard nothing but total silence! And this silence still endures.

During 1987, we have well noticed a general mobilization against the Revisionist school of historians and especially French

Revisionists; this mobilization was solely a mobilization of the media; it was unleashed for the great spectacle of the Klaus Barbie trial and accompanied, on the last days of the hearings, by an evening TV transmission of the serial film *Shoah*.

I shall add a detail for those of my listeners who are not fully conversant with the ups and downs of French politics: as of early December 1986, Alain Devaquet is no longer a minister. He was obliged to resign in face of the student demonstrations against his plans for change in the universities. His enforced leisure should have eased the ex-minister's task of bringing to fulfillment his mobilization against the Revisionist movement in France. If he has tried to act to this effect then it has been almost certainly without result, as no one has heard anything further.

* * * * *

In the last days of May and the first days of June 1986 the petitions and communiqués condemning my thesis flooded in. From among these petitions and communiqués, I shall mention only two:

—the communiqué from the Scientific Committee of the University of Nantes which "disassociates itself from the teacher responsible for processing the thesis," meaning their colleague at Nantes, Professor Jean-Claude Rivière, the tutor for my thesis;

—the petition of a certain number of the teaching staff at the university of Paris-VII, in the midst of whom was Professor Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who certainly instigated this feeble petition.

As for the Israeli ambassador to France, he took the liberty of giving a lesson in morality to the French university community. The weekly magazine, *Tribune juive* [Jewish Tribune] (edition of June 6, 1986) published a declaration by him in which one reads principally:

> The duty of the democracies and of the scientific community is to struggle against all forms of destabilization of the free world. Those establishments of higher learning which lend themselves to the games of ignorant students cooperate with the destroyers of civilization and liberty.

Afterwards, there was the great turn in the tide in the month of August 1986, when the historian Michel de Boüard, a former deportee, gave his support to my thesis. Latterly, Monsieur de Boüard had waged an intensive campaign among his historian colleagues and we are already noticing some happy results.

There exists in France a very official and very conformist Association of Professors of History and Geography which publishes a review titled *Historiens et géographes* [Historians and Geographers]. In the edition of July-August 1986, the professors of history gave free rein to their indignation against the "scandalous" thesis of Nantes; in the readers' letters columns, one found a letter

written by the professors of the Academy of Nancy-Metz having as its heading "Against an untenable 'thesis'"; another letter, composed by the professors of Tulle in the south of France proclaimed: "Shame on the falsifiers of history." Let us recall that these various reactions, violently hostile, were precedent to the courageous position adopted by Dean Michel de Boüard, who is unanimously respected in the French university world.

I exercised my right of reply in respect to the review *Historiens et géographes* and my letter was published in the issue of December-January 1987.[3] "Who are these alleged falsifiers of history among whom I am numbered?" I asked. I recalled that the French courts have made their position known very clearly in regard to Professor Faurisson, who was accused, some years ago, of the falsification of history. Refusing to pursue the accusation, the Court of Appeal of Paris, in its judgement of April 26, 1983, declared that by reason of the seriousness of the work undertaken by the professor "the validity of the conclusions he defends belongs solely to the appraisal of experts, of historians and of the public." I then emphasized that the objective of my thesis was defined exactly by its title; I mentioned the support of Professor Michel de Boüard and of the academician Alain Decaux; I pointed out that George Wellers himself, although very hostile, recognized that my study of the texts was "punctilious" and that I had accomplished a "considerable work."

The editors of the magazine accompanied my letter with a commentary which began as follows:

> Our friends Alain Decaux and Georges Wellers have in fact acknowledged the merits of the literary work of Monsieur Roques, who has assembled, compared and evaluated all the reports concerning Gerstein. That is indisputable. But Georges Wellers and Alain Decaux do not agree with the conclusions of this study.

It is easy to remark how the tone has changed in respect to my work. There are no more insults or uncontrolled indignation. Even the merits of my "literary" work are acknowledged. There is, as yet, no mention of my "historical" work. But let us not be too hasty. There is also no mention so far of the supportive views of the distinguished historian Michel de Boüard. Patience! Truth progresses slowly, but it does progress.

Another French scientific review is called the *Révue d'histoire moderne et contemporaire* [Review of Modern and Contemporary History]; it is written by teachers of history who work in the French universities. The issue for the first quarter of 1987 is devoted to a study with the title "History, Discipline and the Media. A Propos the Roques Affair." The authors of the study recapitulate, by a concise documentation, the essentials of the development of the affair; they note that my work supports Revisionist opinion. To be sure, they do

not take sides in favor of my thesis; but this time they refer on several occasions to Dean Michel de Boüard, even reproducing as an appendix the whole of the interview which the historian accorded to the daily newspaper *Ouest-France.*

From this, I can remark great progress achieved by the Revisionist school among French historians within the space of a few months.

There remains one last step to accomplish: to obtain from the Administrative Tribunal of Nantes a decision in my favor for the restoration of my diploma. So long as I maintain the respect of persons whose opinions I value, the title of "Doctor," however pleasing it is, does not matter too much to me. But I do believe, with all sincerity, that the scandalous insults offered to me, the three professors on my jury, as well as my friends and associates, should be expunged. They and I should be exonerated; and the only correct way to do this is to restore my doctorate.

My application is still under review by this tribunal and I am awaiting, with a certain confidence, the result of this application. It has already been firmly decided that if the Administrative Tribunal of Nantes does not annul the unjust action taken by the ex-minister, Devaquet, the case will be taken before the Council of State, the highest legal authority in France, equivalent to the American Supreme Court or, in Britain, to the legal committee of the House of Lords.

* * * * *

It is now almost eighteen months since the Roques Affair exploded; and so it is now possible to analyze the cases and the developments with a certain perspective and detachment. How do we explain that a thesis on the critical evaluation of texts, devoted to a subject as limited as the evidence of one SS officer on killings by gas in a small concentration camp in Poland, could have set off such a tidal wave in the media and in a certain number of political circles anxious not to diplease the centers of international Zionism?

The so-called "Gerstein Report" represents a fundamental proof of the homicidal gas chambers, say the Exterminationists. Let us assume this to be true. Nevertheless, these same Exterminationists affirm that they possess an abundance of proofs of these gassings. In such circumstances, why do they give way to a veritable panic when only one of these allegedly very numerous proofs is seriously challenged? The story written by Gerstein was not even retained as evidence against the accused by the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg; this "Gerstein Report" was in fact rejected by the Tribunal in the course of its session of January 30, 1946.

An explanation for the behavior of our adversaries can only be found if we fully recognize that their behavior is, in effect, religious. A religion is founded on a dogma; a dogma has an imperative need

of support from holy scriptures. Thus, the "Gerstein Report" is taken to be Holy Writ. Consequently, the exercise of my critical faculty in regard to the "Gerstein Report" had appeared to them as a sort of sacrilege or profanation. The ideal image of Obersturmführer Kurt Gerstein has been assembled religiously by Léon Poliakov, by Rolf Hochhuth, by Saul Friedländer, by Pierre Joffroy. For Poliakov, Gerstein is a "righteous Gentile"; for Hochhuth, a militant of the Confessional Church, Gerstein is a pure Christian faithful to the Gospel, the Gospel which Pope Pius XII betrayed by his political realism, interpreted by Hochhuth as treachery; for Friedländer, the SS officer is a "saint astray in this century"; for Joffroy, Gerstein rises even higher in this celestial hierarchy: he becomes "the spy of God"; the writer-hagiographer even subtitles his book "the passion of Kurt Gerstein," as though referring to a new Jesus Christ.

The personage of Gerstein, as remodelled by his worshippers,[4] could quite well sustain the double role projected for him:

1. to lead us, without any intellectual defenses, into the "magical gas chambers," to use the expression of a very great French writer, Louis-Ferdinand Céline;
2. to make us admit the universal culpability of all those, such as Pope Pius XII, who have kept silent before the greatest crime in the history of the world.

It is not impossible that my thesis, which is based on simple common sense, may have pulverized the ideal image of Saint Gerstein. In fact, over the past eighteen months, neither Poliakov, nor Hochhuth, nor Friedländer, nor Joffroy have stood up to defend the memory of their hero. They have been silent, with only one exception, that of Saul Friedländer. This Israeli professor, who teaches history at the University of Tel Aviv and at the Institute of European Studies in Geneva, had the chance to express himself on May 30, 1986. We should recall that Friedländer is the author of a book titled *Kurt Gerstein, or the Ambiguity of Good.* So, on May 30, 1986, Friedländer was in Paris, where he participated at the famous round table formed, as I have said earlier, as an anti-jury in order to proclaim the invalidity of my thesis. When reading a report of this stupefying conference, I learned that Saul Friedländer declared: "Gerstein was a very fragile man, scarcely prepared to be a witness." What an admission!

It is easy for me to reply that the precise objective of my thesis was to demonstrate that a very fragile witness such as Gerstein could only give evidence that was, by the same token, very fragile.

* * * * *

To conclude this lecture it remains for me to thank the Institute for Historical Review for having invited me to this Eighth International

Revisionist Conference. This is an honor that certainly cannot be attributed to the wide range of my researches, as I have concentrated on one individual, Gerstein, and, in effect, one camp, Belzec. If one wishes to acknowledge any qualities, I would admit two: patience and tenacity.

Patience? I have exercised patience for forty years, while waiting for the chance to denounce a fraud perpetrated by those who, motivated by the need for propaganda at all costs, have exploited the inevitable obscurity, the inevitable anarchy of war.

Tenacity? I have needed a little tenacity to arrive at the accomplishment of this thesis; I have needed a great deal of tenacity in order to succeed in finally constituting a university jury; perhaps I have needed even more tenacity in keeping my head throughout this affair, against certain powerful forces in the world, unleashed against me personally.

As for my study, I have restricted it to one subject and I have made only a critical evaluation of the texts. Nevertheless, our adversaries have made my work known to the entire world by use of the media, of which they have almost a monopoly.

For the historical revision of the Second World War, France is the country where, side by side, we have the worst and the best. It was a Frenchman, Paul Rassinier, who, a quarter of a century past, laid the foundations of Holocaust Revisionism. But his struggle was a lonely one and rare were those of his countrymen who offered him their support. It is in France that Professor Robert Faurisson, taking over the task from Paul Rassinier, was dragged before the courts, convicted, and overwhelmed with fines: but it is also in France that the courts have refused to convict Robert Faurisson for falsifying history, even admitting the seriousness of his work. France is now a country where, since the judgement of the Court of Appeal of Paris on April 26, 1983, everyone has the right to believe, to deny or to doubt the existence of the gas chambers.

Similarly, it is in France that we have been able to find three university professors courageous enough to constitute the jury at Nantes before which I was able to argue my thesis. The pitiful and illegal decision of an ephemeral minister must not allow us to forget the moral courage of my professors. Perhaps we shall be able to acknowledge our respects, at some time, to the professional honesty of the judges of the Administrative Tribunal of Nantes, if these judges concur in the validity of my appeal that the minister acted in excess of his authorized powers.

I am proud to belong to the French Revisionist school, a school which has, moreover, now become Franco-Italian thanks to a young researcher, Carlo Mattogno. I hope that Mattogno will soon have the opportunity to reveal to you the results of his very extensive researches into the myth of the extermination of the Jews on this

same platform from which I address you today.

On June 15, 1985, in the oral argument of my thesis, I stated that the Revisionist school should open its doors wide to all those who have questions to ask, to all those who have reason to distrust the Manichean interpretations applied to the Second World War. Those who doubt cannot find their spiritual home among the Exterminationists because these latter refuse all debate which challenges their dogma. In France, our adversaries persist in trying to pour scorn upon us by treating us as a "sect of negators," as "a wretched little group who deny the Holocaust."

Our reply is simply that of the scientist, and in accord with the humanist tradition, which is based on a simple axiom: since the truth is not historically established, men not only have the right to doubt, but they also have the duty to doubt.

Translator's Notes

1. In French, the word *scientifique* is used to describe any subject of academic study, including history; whereas the Anglo-Saxons tend to apply the word only to objective sciences such as chemistry, biology, etc. However, in the sense of a logical and systematic study, a literal translation seems perfectly clear.

2. The forged "signature" in question was that of a lecturer at the University of Nantes who had been invited to participate in the oral argument of the Roques thesis as an expert witness. This lecturer had no authority to sign any document relating to the thesis, nor was he permitted to sit in on the jury's deliberations. He was not even present at the public hearing of the thesis on June 15, 1987. Whoever forged the signature, which had no bearing on the original approval of the thesis, was clearly no friend of Henri Roques.

3. In France there is an actual law which obliges, as in this instance, an editor to publish replies to personal attacks. Like most laws anywhere, it does not function perfectly; but it is a good law nevertheless. It does help to restrain the owners and editors from manipulating the media entirely in their own political or sectarian interests.

4. Worshippers. It is unfortunate that many accurate and descriptive French expressions cannot be fully translated into English. This small gloss has to suffice.

   The original word in French (*thuriféraires*) denotes the cleric who incenses/sanctifies the altar—at a High Mass, for instance. That is one meaning. A second meaning, in popular use, is "sycophant" or "flatterer." Yet a third meaning arises from the fact that a thurifer (incense-bearer) uses a thurible; and a thurible was the vessel also used by the alchemists allegedly to turn base metals into gold. Hence a triple-entendre. "Worshippers" seems to be the best explanatory compromise.

Soviet Russia's Persecution of Latvia, 1918 to the Present

ALEXANDER V. BERKIS

(Paper Presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference)

The focus of this paper is the oppression and persecution which the rulers of the Soviet Union have inflicted on the Baltic nation of Latvia, from its declaration of independence in 1918 to the present day. The Red Army has invaded and occupied Latvia three times in the past seventy years; its most recent aggression, in 1944, has resulted in the continuing, illegal Soviet occupation of Latvia. Each Soviet incursion has been accompanied by mass killings and deportations of Latvians, and Soviet authorities have sought to destroy Latvian nationhood by the illegal annexation of Latvia to the USSR and through measures aimed at eradicating the Latvians' historical, cultural, and religious traditions. Nevertheless, the Latvian people, in their homeland and in exile, have fought to defend their nationhood with all the means at their disposal.

Latvia Under Foreign Rule, 1290-1918

Since the Communist regime in Russia has built upon and intensified earlier oppression under the tsars, a brief overview of Latvia's history under foreign rule is necessary. By 1290 all of Latvia had been conquered by the Teutonic Knights and the Livonian Order. From 1290 to 1561 Latvia belonged to the Confederation of Livonia, which included also Estonia. The fall of the Confederation of Livonia was brought about by the invasion of Russia under the rule of John (Ivan) IV, the Terrible. Since the Confederation was unable to defend itself, it asked for the help of Poland-Lithuania, Sweden and Denmark. As a result of the long Livonian War (1558-1582), northern Livonia, including southern Estonia, became a Polish province (1561-1629). After the Swedish-Polish succession war western Livonia, including its capital Riga, and all of Estonia became a Swedish province (1629-1721). Eastern Livonia remained a Polish province until 1772; after the First Partition of Poland-Lithuania in that year it was annexed by Russia.

The last Master of the Livonian Order, Gotthard Kettler, founded the Duchy of Courland, which endured as an almost independent state under Polish suzerainty for over two centuries (1561-1795). It is no exaggeration to say that the history of the Duchy of Courland has

been almost forgotten since 1795, although Duke James (1639-1682) and his achievements were well known in the seventeenth century. The duke owned two crown colonies, the island of Tobago in the West Indies and Gambia in West Africa, as well as mining territories in Norway, which, like his colonies in Tobago and Gambia, were colonized by his Courlanders.

Courland was also a naval power. Only the Netherlands, England, Spain and Portugal had stronger navies than Courland at the time of Duke James. The envious Dutch called Duke James the "Skipper Duke," for Courland's flourishing prosperity during the age of mercantilism made the Courlanders the rivals of the Dutch. James was likewise called "the merchant on the ducal throne."

After the Third Partition of Poland-Lithuania (1795), the Duchy of Courland and Lithuania were annexed by Russia. It should be emphasized that during the Livonian War and the Great Northern War (1700-1721), the Russians committed atrocities on a large scale in Latvia. During the Great Northern War, these Russian measures brought about a pestilence which killed two-thirds of the population of Latvia.

Systematic persecution of Latvians by Russians commenced when all of Latvia became the Russian provinces of Livonia and Courland. Not content with suppressing Latvian calls for self-determination, Russian authorities pursued an intensifying program of russifying Latvia throughout the nineteenth century. From 1883 on Russian was the only language of instruction in Latvian schools. Pupils were punished for speaking Latvian among themselves. Educated Latvians could not obtain work in their professions in their homeland; at the same time they were welcomed, for their skill and dependability, in Russia proper.

During the National Awakening (or Romantic Nationalism) which blossomed in nineteenth-century Latvia, the movement's leaders, Krisjanis Voldemars (1825-1891) and Krisjanis Barons (1835-1923), were the targets of Russian suppression. Considered politically dangerous, they were forced to live in Russia for three decades of exile from Latvia. Nevertheless, some Latvian historians reproach them for neglecting Latvia's political independence. Voldemars and Barons did not go beyond urging their countrymen to cultivate their language and national traditions, although they favored increasing Latvia's economic independence through the accumulation of wealth.

When Russia was rocked by revolution in 1905, Latvian nationalists called for political autonomy for Latvia. The tsarist authorities responded with mass killings and deportations to Siberia.

Representative of the fates of the more fortunate Latvian nationalist leaders of that time was the experience of Karlis Ulmanis, Latvia's future president. He was jailed for several months in

consequence of his activities in 1905. Upon his release from prison, tsarist authorities sought to rearrest him. With that Ulmanis went into exile in America, where he lived from 1906 to 1913.

In 1913 the Russian Duma passed an amnesty act to celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of the Romanov dynasty. Ulmanis and other Latvian leaders in exile returned in time to experience the outbreak of the First World War, which led to the overthrow of Nicholas II and his dynasty, the Bolshevik seizure of power, and the independence of the Baltic nations.

Latvian Independence and First Soviet Occupation

It is impossible to treat the independence of Latvia (1918-1940) and the three occupations under the Soviet rule without discussing briefly the life of President Ulmanis of Latvia (1877-1942?). Foreign observers, including historians, have called Ulmanis Latvia and Latvia Ulmanis. Indeed the two names are inseparable. The writer of this paper knows no other example in history in which one person dominated so completely the history and life of a country as did Ulmanis, both as leader and as legend in Latvia.

Karlis Ulmanis was born on September 4, 1877, in Zemgale, in southern Latvia, on the territory of the former Duchy of Courland. He obtained a degree in agronomy from the Institute of Agronomy in Leipzig, Germany in 1905, and a B.S. in agriculture at the University of Nebraska in 1909 during his American exile.

In 1916, returned to Latvia, Ulmanis founded the Farmers' Union, or Party, and became its leader, a position he would retain until the fall of independent Latvia in 1940. During the next few years Ulmanis organized the leading Latvian politicians, and with them formed the People's Council. On November 18, 1918 the People's Council proclaimed the independence of Latvia. Looking to Ulmanis as the only candidate willing, able, resourceful, and courageous enough to lead Latvia, the council elected him prime minister (or minister president) of the provisional government. Political conditions in Latvia were at that time very complicated, because by 1918 its entire territory was occupied by the German army. Latvia had suffered even more devastation in the war than had Belgium. After Germany signed the November 11th armistice, the discipline of the German soldiers collapsed, and the Soviet army gradually pushed into defenseless Latvia. By February 1919 all of Latvia except the western part, which constituted less than one-eighth of its territory, had been occupied by the Soviets.[1]

In occupied Latvia the Soviet authorities passed decrees nationalizing property, without compensation to the former owners. All landed property was nationalized; compulsory labor was decreed. The Communists requisitioned clothing and footwear.

They imposed confiscatory taxes; even the workers had to pay higher taxes. All these decrees grossly violated international law. Since the Soviet measures could not be carried out without terror, thousands of Latvians were murdered, tortured or died of hunger. The prisons were crammed.

By early 1919 power was largely in the hands of local councils, or "soviets." These authorities mainly concerned themselves with searching for supposed counter-revolutionaries. At night those in power met and decided whom to arrest; it was also by night that the victims were arrested. Farmers, artisans, workers and intellectuals alike were arrested; nobody could feel safe. Revolutionary tribunals were busy constantly, and pronounced numerous death sentences. The "law" that the "judges" applied was "revolutionary consciousness." Toward dawn special units would take charge of the condemned Latvians, order them to take off their clothes and then shoot them.

The crimes committed by the Soviets against the cream of the Latvian nation verged on genocide, and caused a large-scale guerrilla war against the Russian troops. Gradually the Ulmanis government, with the help of German soldiers, reconquered occupied Latvia. By the beginning of February 1920, all of Latvia had been liberated. The Soviet Union, hard-pressed in the civil war against the White Russian generals, concluded a peace treaty with Latvia on August 11, 1920.[2]

During the War of Latvian Liberation, Ulmanis formed three governments. At the beginning of May 1920, the Constituent Assembly convened, and authorized Ulmanis to form his fourth government. This government was able to obtain *de jure* recognition of Latvia by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Belgium on January 26, 1921. A few months later the Constituent Assembly forced Ulmanis to resign, for a majority of the delegates had grown tired and envious of his strongman leadership.[3]

The Interwar Years

Ulmanis' influence, however, remained powerful. In 1925 he became prime minister of his fifth government, which resigned in 1926. Ulmanis formed his sixth government during the economic crisis of 1931, which was comparatively mild in agrarian Latvia. There was no unemployment; indeed, foreign farmhands were imported. Nevertheless, many Latvians blamed the parliamentary system for economic woes. It became almost proverbial to say that when Latvia had hard times Ulmanis always appeared to solve the problems. Foreign observers remarked that parliaments and their members were elected and defeated, but Ulmanis remained. In fact

coalition governments could seldom be formed without Ulmanis' agreement, even at times when other members of the Farmers' Union were chosen prime minister due to the other parties' envy of Ulmanis.

In March 1934 Ulmanis became the seventh and last prime minister under the parliamentary system. The Latvian people had at last tired of the corrupt rule of the nation's many parties. On May 15, 1934, Ulmanis carried out a bloodless coup and dissolved the parliament and all parties.[4] He was hailed by a flood of letters and telegrams thanking him for restoring the unity of Latvia. The third president of Latvia, Alberts Kviesis, who also belonged to the Farmers' Union, invited Ulmanis and the ministers of the eighth and last of his governments to the presidential castle. President Kviesis announced that because the overwhelming majority of Latvians was behind the Ulmanis government, he considered Ulmanis' coup to have the force of a plebiscite. Kviesis thus gave his approval and blessing to the new government of national unity. This government remained in power for more than six years, until the Soviet Union invaded Latvia. The gratitude of the Latvian people was always behind the heroic and magic prime minister of the Latvian War of Liberation—Karlis Ulmanis.

Yet the personality of Ulmanis cannot be overlooked in the connection with the tragic fall of independent Latvia. After the outbreak of World War II, Latvia and the other Baltic States were isolated. Under such conditions the Soviet Union forced Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania to sign mutual assistance pacts and established Russian naval, air, and infantry bases in these virtually defenseless countries.[5]

The Second Soviet Occupation

Ulmanis hoped to gain time by signing the pact. In fact, he gained time up to June 17, 1940. The collapse of France spurred the Soviet Union to demand the total occupation of the Baltic countries and the formation of pro-Soviet governments there. Ulmanis accepted the ultimatum and refused to go into exile. He remained technically the President of Latvia up to July 22, 1940, without any power and influence. On the twenty-second of July he was deported to the Soviet Union. The place, date and circumstances of Ulmanis' death are unknown, although some sources say he died in 1942.

Thus began the second Soviet occupation of Latvia. It proved to be far more disastrous than the first one. In the first weeks following the Red Army's invasion, Latvia's political leaders, including the very popular former vice president and minister of war, General Janis Balodis, were arrested and deported.

The mass arrests took place months later, after foreign diplomatic

and consular representatives had departed Latvia and could not report to their governments on the crimes committed by the Soviets.

There is authentic documentary evidence that on October 11, 1940 the NKVD, the Soviet secret police, issued a detailed basic order on deportations of anti-Soviet elements from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia (Order No: 001223). It was signed by the Deputy People's Commissar of Public Security, Serov, indicating that the order was issued while the Baltic States were still independent countries.[6] Needless to say this grossly violated the basic principles of international law. The lists of so-called anti-Soviet elements had long ago been drawn up by local Communists and well-paid traitors.

Fully aware of the disaffection of Latvians, the Soviet government deemed it necessary to engineer the voluntary "approval" of its occupation of Latvia. Therefore, the Soviet authorities ordered a parliamentary election. In the staged elections of July 14 and 15, 1940, a single list of candidates, approved by Andrei Vishinsky, was permitted. The unanimously "elected" parliament declared Latvia to be transformed into a Soviet Republic and requested the Soviet "parliament" to admit Latvia to the Soviet Union. The constitution of Latvia of 1922 had stipulated that any question touching the independence of Latvia had to be decided by a plebiscite. The Soviet government dared not carry one out; therefore Latvia was never legally incorporated into the Soviet Union. Besides, according to international law, no election conducted under occupation by foreign troops can be legally valid.

Latvia's minister in Washington, Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, who had been invested with emergency powers by the legitimate government, and the Latvian minister in London, Karlis Zarins, accordingly declared the elections null and void. Their emergency powers had been issued by the government of Latvia as late as May 18, 1940, with Dr. Bilmanis appointed as Zarins' substitute, in case of the death of the Latvian minister in London. The holder of the emergency powers of state was authorized to appoint delegates to international conferences and to appoint and transfer the staff of the Latvian legations and consulates. In fact Zarins was assigned the functions of the president and the government of Latvia. The Latvian puppet government declared both men traitors and deprived them of Latvian citizenship.

The sovietization of Latvia proceeded rapidly. By the end of September, 1940, all "large" private fortunes, private industry, commerce, banks, transportation, land and its natural resources, and rental property had been nationalized without compensation to the owners. On the contrary, they were slandered and libeled as exploiters and enemies of the toiling masses. The funds in the possession of the nationalized and disorganized banks were converted to worthless paper, and equally worthless Soviet paper

rubles flooded the country. High prices in rubles were then fixed for all wares. Red Army soldiers and Soviet functionaries promptly cleared out the stores.

During the first major stage of the mass deportation program at least 35,828 persons were deported or murdered. American and other foreign sources estimate the number of persons from all walks of life deported or murdered at 60,000. After the outbreak of the German-Russian war, Latvian soldiers, included against the principles of international law in the Red Army, were withdrawn to Russia or murdered. Many civilians were carried off by the retreating Soviet authorities as well. Marked especially for extermination were Latvian government officials, members of the intelligentsia, and retired army officers.

It should be noted that intellectuals suffered most from the persecution, because during the Latvian War of Liberation almost the entire student body of the University of Latvia volunteered to fight against the Red Army. Therefore the Soviets called the University of Latvia a citadel of arch-reactionaries.

Neither among the intellectuals nor the capitalists, however, did the Soviets find their most outspoken enemies. These were the farmers, because in Latvia 62 per cent of the inhabitants were farmers and their families. In fact they were their own bosses. From the Soviet point of view the backbone of the stable middle classes had to be broken by any and all means. The outbreak of the German-Russian War prevented the Soviet regime from forcing the collectivization of agriculture.[7]

The Soviet terror was met by an uprising of officers and enlisted men from the former Latvian Home Guard, a well-trained reserve army, and other Latvian nationalists. They seized control of most of Latvia after the outbreak of the German-Russian War. The German army conquered only the major cities—Riga, Liepaja (Libau), Ventspils (Windau), Jelgava (Mitau) and Daugavpils (Dünaburg). During the first days of July 1941, all of Latvia was occupied by the German army. The war swept across Latvia like a hurricane.

Despite the German liberation, Latvians were soon disappointed as it became obvious that Hitler's government had no intention of restoring Latvia's independence.

Beginning in the middle of July 1944, the German troops gradually retreated from Latvia after heavy fighting. The superiority of the Red Army was in no small part due to its support with weapons and all kinds of materiel by the U.S. and the British Empire. On May 8, 1945, the German troops laid down their arms in accordance with the terms of Germany's unconditional surrender on both the Western and Eastern fronts.

Realizing that with Latvia's third occupation by the Red Army at hand, the Soviet terror was again imminent, many Latvian activists

saw exile as their only hope for the future. Experience had taught them that nothing is worse than Communism. According to information provided by the Latvian Red Cross, by 1947 there were 134,000 Latvian political refugees, the overwhelming majority of them in West Germany. This must be regarded as a minimum estimate.

Defeat and Reoccupation

Those Latvians who remained in Latvia had no illusions as to their fate. Within a few days the Red Army was followed by the NKVD. The Red secret police immediately interrogated the population by means of mandatory questionnaires. The Soviets declared that all who had not retreated with Soviet forces before the advance of the German Army were enemies of the Soviet Union and deserved exemplary punishment. The questions each Latvian was forced to answer included the following: "Why did you not retreat with the Soviet Army in 1941?" "What employment did you pursue during the German occupation?" "What anti-German sabotage did you carry out?" "Name three collaborators of the Germans."

Men were issued red tickets for military service, green for compulsory labor and white for deportation. People's courts, meeting in the absence of the accused, condemned Latvian patriots to long prison terms or deportation to the Gulag, while their families were picked up, separated at the entrainment points and dragged off to unknown parts of the Soviet Union. Beginning in 1948 collectivization was imposed on most Latvian farms.

The University of Latvia was thoroughly russified and sovietized.

An even more serious result of the Red Army's third occupation was the introduction of large numbers of ethnic Russians and natives of the U.S.S.R's Asiatic republics into the country to replace the deported Latvians.[8]

Latvian Guerrilla Resistance

These Soviet measures caused a very bloody large-scale guerrilla war, not only in Latvia but in Estonia and Lithuania as well, where similar policies were imposed. From 1944 to 1952, and on a smaller scale even up to 1956, fierce fighting still raged in the countryside. Only after the failure of the Hungarian revolt in 1956 did the Baltic peoples realize that the Western democracies were unable and unwilling to support them.

The guerrilla war was waged on the largest scale in Lithuania. According to Lithuanian sources, the Lithuanians lost 30,000 men; Soviet losses are put at no fewer than 80,000 soldiers and NKVD men. These estimates have been reinforced by testimony obtained from Soviet officials, who had previously participated in

suppressing the Lithuanian freedom fighters, after they themselves went into exile.[9]

Soviet authorities spoke very frankly about the extent of the guerrilla war. They estimated that there were around 9,000 Latvian national partisans, whom they resentfully referred to as "fascist bandits." The Communist regime branded the Latvians a counter-revolutionary and anti-Soviet people. It is indeed a great compliment to be called such names by the Soviets. This is, furthermore, something new, because it has consistently been standard Soviet practice to feign friendship with all peoples and to differentiate between "exploiters," the "enemies of the people," and the population as a whole.

It should be noted that Latvian sources make roughly the same estimation of the number of the Latvian national partisans. On the average, the partisans survived the fighting only for two or three years, and then were replaced by other men with military training. Up until 1949 the national partisans controlled many parts of Latvia, especially the peninsula of Courland. Their successes can be explained by the fact that about 43 per cent of Latvia is covered by forests, lakes and swamps. This terrain was exploited by seasoned fighters from the two divisions of the Latvian Legion mobilized by the Germans. At the time of the German capitulation they had taken to the forests. These Latvian troops took their weapons with them, obtaining additional arms and ammunition from the German army depots in the fortress of Courland, the last-ditch redoubt of Hitler's Army Group North. Later on they used captured Russian weapons. Above all, they enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of Latvians.

After the collectivization of agriculture, the Soviet authorities carried out their largest deportation, involving mainly the farm population, in 1949. This measure considerably deprived the national partisans of food supplies, civilian support, and a source of new recruits. Nevertheless, so resourceful were the partisans that they captured food and money from the collective farms and state-owned stores.

The collectivization and mass deportations, however, spelled the beginning of the end of the large-scale guerrilla war. Gradually the partisans were demobilized. They were provided with forged or purchased identification documents in the black markets to enable them to filter back into the civilian population.

The question of the fate of the former partisans is still open. Those who criticize the guerrilla war assert that it was a lost cause from the very beginning. In fact, however, the national partisans, by executing many Soviet functionaries, made many of the others fear for their lives. In many cases Soviet officials intentionally overlooked the surviving partisans, especially when they moved far

away from their former homes or to the metropolis of Riga, with its 700,000 inhabitants. Communists fear retaliation; this is the only argument that they understand. Nor should the fact be overlooked that the national partisans created a legend for the future. The only peoples who deserve independent states are those willing to fight for them!

The writer of this paper has the sad duty of pointing out that the noble aspiration and hope of President Ulmanis—to save the Latvian people from extermination by accepting the ultimatum of the Soviet Union without offering military resistance—proved mistaken. The mass deportations carried out by the government of the Soviet Union, the mobilization of over 150,000 Latvians by the Germans, and the very bloody guerrilla war caused such losses to the population that they cannot be correctly estimated at this time. These painful facts cannot diminish President Ulmanis' outstanding achievements and his glorious rule.

Donald Day, correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* in Eastern Europe for 22 years, in his book *Onward Christian Soldiers* devotes more pages to Ulmanis than to any other statesman, including Poland's Marshal Pilsudski. According to Day, Ulmanis believed that the Latvians' best hope for a future national existence was to raise their living standard and culture to such a high level that the people, no matter what the immediate future might bring, would always treasure these memories in their hearts. In Day's opinion Ulmanis was the greatest man Latvia has ever produced.[10]

Karlis Ulmanis was the great president of a small country. After the Hitler-Stalin pact and the outbreak of World War II, only God could save Latvia.

One misunderstanding should be corrected. There is still a widespread belief in the Western democracies that Communism is a lesser evil than National Socialism. The former Marxist Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, with great reluctance, recognized that National Socialism was a lesser evil than Communism. Indeed, it should be emphasized that even William L. Shirer, whose strong anti-German bias concerning all periods of German history is well known, when writing about Latvia and the other Baltic States in his book *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, stated that Stalin, in dealing with small countries, could be as crude and as ruthless as Hitler, and even more cynical.[11]

Latvian Resistance, Soviet Oppression

After the end of the guerrilla war, the Latvians resorted to passive resistance. In spite of the well-known Latvian individualism, which has caused keen foreign observers to say that Latvians are strong as individuals and weak in cooperation, Soviet rule has fostered a

strong Latvian national unity. Now, in Soviet-occupied Latvia, Latvians help their fellow Latvians in any way they can. There are no longer any parties in Latvia: all Latvians constitute one community of suffering.

In general Latvians do their best to maintain their language, culture and national traditions. Above all, they have done and continue to do everything possible to achieve the best education for their children. In this regard they have succeeded, because the Latvians, together with the Estonians, are the best educated among the captive peoples and by far more educated than the Russians.

In spite of all the Latvians' efforts to survive as a people, the outlook grows more bleak with each passing year. To be sure, after the major deportation of 1949, no new mass deportations have occurred. On the contrary, an amnesty for certain categories of political prisoners was proclaimed after Stalin's death in 1953. Several thousand Latvians returned to their native land, most of them as invalids, broken in body and spirit. But deportations from Latvia still continue, as young people are inveigled into volunteering for the cultivation of virgin lands or for mining in Central Asia and Siberia.

The Russian eight years' war in Afghanistan provided the government of the Soviet Union with a new opportunity to deport Latvian youth. Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians and other subject peoples are sent as soldiers to Afghanistan to eliminate the Afghans and at the same time to spare, as much as possible, the pro-Soviet Russians. Losses among Latvian soldiers are very high because the Soviet authorities deliberately engage them in the riskiest military operations.

The Latvian organizations in exile have to some extent succeeded in reaching agreements with the fighting Afghans to spare Latvian prisoners of war. But these measures can only be of a limited scope, because the various Afghan tribes lack both a united military command and common organization abroad which could function as a government-in-exile.

The Chernobyl nuclear plant disaster, caused by the gross negligence of the Soviet authorities, presented the Soviets with yet another pretext to deport Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, and other subject peoples. Those drafted to clean up the Chernobyl mess were told that they would have to work for only three months at the site. Yet those who survived the nuclear clean-up, under the most miserable conditions, were not allowed to return to their homes. The cheapest thing in the Soviet Union is human life.

The Soviet authorities in occupied Latvia have engaged in the systematic destruction of graves, entire cemeteries, churches and many other historical monuments. For instance, the graves of President Karlis Ulmanis's family were destroyed by the Russian

barbarians. The monument and memorial museum of the first Latvian commander-in-chief, Oskars Kalpaks, were likewise destroyed by the Soviets.

Destruction of church property has been extensive. The historic Lutheran Dome of Riga—the cathedral of the archbishop—has been turned into a concert hall, the historic St. Peter's Church into a museum and the Greek Catholic Cathedral into a planetarium. Numerous other churches have been transformed into warehouses, cinemas, clubs, or meeting halls, or have been burned down.

Many Latvians known for their outspoken anti-Communism have been killed in "accidents," not only in Soviet-ruled Latvia, but also in the United States, Canada and West Germany. Latvians are not safe from Russian persecution, even in exile.

The Fight Goes on Abroad

The Baltic exiles have not, however, allowed themselves to be intimidated. The diplomatic and consular representatives of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, in conjunction with the worldwide organizations of the Baltic peoples, function as governments in exile. A new generation of Baltic young people, provided by their parents with educations in the finest universities of America, Canada, Australia, and Western Europe, has moved into the leadership of the exile organizations. More important, they have succeeded in bringing their fight for justice and the liberation of their fatherlands into international forums.

As a result of their endless activity and effort, on January 13, 1983 the Parliament of Europe in Strasbourg passed a resolution that strongly condemned the occupation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union. The resolution calls the Soviet Union the last colonial empire and demands that the issue of the Baltic States be brought before the United Nations. The European resolution is firmly based on numerous treaties, including those concluded and subsequently violated by the Soviet Union. The language of the resolution stresses that the three Baltic peoples waged a large-scale guerrilla war against the Russian troops for eight years (1944-1952) and that about 665,000 Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians have been deported by the Soviet authorities to forced labor camps since 1940.

Encouraged by this success, on July 25 and 26, 1985 the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian exile organizations held an international tribunal against the government of the Soviet Union, charging it with genocide and other crimes against humanity in the three Baltic states. A panel of internationally known authorities in the field of human rights issued its verdict, the Copenhagen Manifesto, which found the Soviet government guilty as charged.[12]

Meanwhile a Baltic ship, symbolizing the ideal of peace based upon freedom, sailed along the coasts of Denmark, Sweden and

Finland. Impressive demonstrations against the Soviet Union took place in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Helsinki. West European TV networks and major newspapers gave these events good coverage. It is regrettable that only *The Wall Street Journal*, among major American papers, gave these stories any notice at all.

"Useful Idiots" Against Baltic Freedom: The OSI

As might have been expected, the Soviet Union answered these initiatives by organizing so-called war crimes trials. Unfortunately, the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI) entered into collaboration with the Soviet secret police. Karl Linnas, an Estonian-born resident of Long Island who was stripped of his citizenship by a federal court for participating in alleged war crimes committed by Hitler during World War II, was implicated by "evidence" compiled by the Soviet KGB. Their evidence was forged, fabricated and fraudulent. As a result, Linnas was deported by the U.S. government to illegally occupied Estonia, where he had been already condemned to death by Soviet courts. On his arrival the Soviet prosecutor informed him that the Soviet Union had no case against him due to statutory limitation. Soon afterward, the Soviets announced his death.

The Linnas case was an outrageous violation of the U.S. Constitution. Linnas and other U.S. citizens of Eastern European origin in the so-called war criminal cases have been treated as third-class citizens, deprived of due process, a trial by jury, and protection from the application of *ex post facto* laws. The statutory basis for these outrages is a special law passed by Congress during the Carter administration. The writer of this paper believes that this is a bill of attainder, and thus forbidden by the U.S. Constitution. Congress has likewise grossly violated the constitutional principle of separation of powers of the three branches of government.

To do justice to President Reagan, it should be noted that he fired Allan A. Ryan, Jr., who was not covered by the civil service laws. Ryan's answer to the President was a book, *Quiet Neighbors: Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1984). In this book Ryan shows great zeal to justify the activities of the nefarious OSI. Characterizing Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians in general as collaborators with the Germans, he engages in character assassination of the three peoples as a whole. He seems irritated that the U.S. government does not recognize the Soviet annexation of the three Baltic countries. Since colonialism has come to an end in Africa and Asia, Ryan and his Soviet accomplices are no longer in the mainstream of twentieth-century ideas. His book amply demonstrates that he and the OSI owe their allegiance to the Soviet Union, as evidenced by their instigation of ethnic and sectarian hatred and their attempts to intimidate

outspoken anti-Communists.

Even in this regard, they have miserably failed. They are blind to the fact that young Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians are well-educated, resourceful, and courageous. Baltic young people will only increase their struggle against the Soviet Union and its leftist fifth column in the U.S. The Baltic youth of today cannot and will not allow itself to be legally or morally burdened with war crimes committed before their births. They do not hate Ryan, they despise him. Only a misfit like Ryan fails to see this. Lenin called such persons "useful idiots."

The pro-Soviet elements in the U.S., including the OSI, suffered a great setback in September 1986, when the superpowers met in a conference at Jurmala, Latvia. There, on the eighteenth of September, White House adviser and ambassador Jack Matlock told the conference, in the Latvian language, that the U.S. has never recognized and will not recognize the legitimacy of the forcible incorporation of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia into the Soviet Union.

This declaration was twice carried on local television and has spread throughout Riga the capital of Latvia. Matlock immediately became a national hero in Latvia, and Latvians consider President Reagan the best friend of Latvia. This was one declaration that the American news media could not suppress.

Prospects for an Independent Latvia

During the decade beginning in 1965, both houses of Congress passed sense-of-Congress resolutions condemning the genocidal measures of the government of the Soviet Union in the Baltic States, and asking for the restoration of these nations' independence. Congress has also passed annual resolutions declaring June 14 to be Baltic States' Day and condemning the mass deportations carried out by the Soviets in the Baltic nations. President Reagan has each year signed strong Captive Nations proclamations and the Baltic States' Day resolutions calling the Soviet Union an aggressor and demanding the restoration of independence of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Again, it is unfortunate that those resolutions and proclamations are almost never mentioned by our major news media.

Today there is a strong underground movement in the Baltic States. The underground organizations have frequently sent memoranda to the governments of the Western democracies asking for the restoration of the rights of self-determination and independence for the Baltic peoples. These communiqués are also ignored by our news media.

It should be noted that a falsified history taught in Western

academic institutions stresses alleged German imperialism, ignoring the fact that after 1254 (the end of the Hohenstaufen dynasty), Germany became and remained largely a geographic concept up to the unification of Germany by Otto von Bismarck in 1870. Students in most American schools and universities are studiously deprived of the knowledge that for several centuries the Russians have engaged in large-scale colonial plundering and exploitation of quite advanced non-Russian and non-Slavic peoples, and that today's Soviet Russia is a prison of peoples.

It is a lack of intellectual integrity that prevents academics from informing American students that the Russians have consistent plans to achieve global domination by any and all means. A good example of this kind of misinformation is provided by the whole galaxy of U.S. and West European TV networks and newspapers, assisted by spurious pollsters, which have pictured Gorbachev as a leader with constructive ideas of how to achieve peace, contrary to the negative attitude of President Reagan. They deliberately ignore the fact that during the short totalitarian dictatorship of Gorbachev the mass murders in Afghanistan, including those of women and children, have reached a climax, resulting in the deaths or exile of a third of the population. Thus, behind his facade of moderation, Gorbachev has demonstrated his true barbarian mentality.

It should be stated that only pro-Soviet Western capitalists, such as the Rockefellers, can postpone the disintegration of the Soviet empire due to its highly unstable and precarious economy, the explosive, growing nationalism of the captive peoples, and the conflicting interests of Soviet Russia and Red China.

Latvian youth, in Latvia and in exile, is using the slogan of President Ulmanis: "Latvia for Latvians and Latvians for Latvia." Before his deportation to Russia, Ulmanis declared to his closest coworkers: "We can be oppressed, we can be partly exterminated, but, as long as a single Latvian is alive, the struggle will continue for the right to live in a free and independent Latvia."

The author of this study believes that he will see an independent Latvia once more, a Latvia which is now in the process of formation, a new Latvia, Latvia restored.

Notes

1 Zanis Unams (ed.), *Es Vinu Pazistu. Biografiska Vardnica* (Riga: 1939), pp. 501-505.

2. Dr. Arnolds Spekke, *History of Latvia* (Stockholm: 1951) pp. 347-348. Dr. Spekke was the Minister of Latvia in Washington, D.C. (1954-1970).

3. Edgars Dunsdorfs, *Karla Ulmana Dzive* (Stockholm: 1978) pp. 193-209.

4. Unams (ed.), *Es Vinu Pazistu*, pp. 501-504.

5. Dr. Alfreds Bilmanis, *History of Latvia* (Princeton University Press: 1951) pp. 394-407. The late Bilmanis was the Minister of Latvia to the U.S. (1935-1948) and a prominent Latvian historian.
6. Joseph Pajaujis-Javis, *Soviet Genocide in Lithuania*, appendix No. 4, pp. 224-229.
7. Alfreds Zeichners, *Latvijas Bolsevizacija, 1940-1941.* (The author's edition, Riga: 1944) p. 458; Bilmanis, *History of Latvia*, p. 406.
8. Clarence A. Manning, *The Forgotten Republics* (New York: 1952), pp. 232-235.
9. Pajaujis-Javis, *Soviet Genocide in Lithuania*, pp. 91-117.
10. Donald Day, *Onward Christian Soldiers* (The Noontide Press, Torrance, California: 1982), p. 33.
11. Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, Vols I-II, (Harper and Row Publishers, New York), I, p. 145. William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York: 1962), p. 1041.
12. *Baltic Tribunal Against the Soviet Union July 25 and 26, 1985, Copenhagen* (published by the World Federation of Free Latvians), pp. 1-195.

My Role in Berlin on July 20, 1944

OTTO ERNST REMER
Translated by Mark Weber

My assignment to the guard regiment "Großdeutschland" in Berlin was actually a form of rest and recreation—my first leave from the front—after my many wounds and in recognition of my combat decorations, including the Knight's Cross with Oak Leaves and the Close Combat Badge in Silver (forty-eight days of close combat). Later I would be wounded again. In all I was to command the guard regiment for only four months, since I felt obligated to be back with my comrades at the front.

My mission as commander of the guard regiment "Großdeutschland," which I took over at the end of May 1944, was, aside from purely ceremonial duties, to safeguard the Reich government and the Reich capital. Since there were more than a million foreign workers in Berlin and its immediate vicinity, the possibility of internal unrest had to be taken into account.

Around noon on July 20, 1944 1st Lieutenant Dr. Hans Hagen, who had been severely wounded at the front, concluded his lecture on cultural history before the officers and NCO's of the regiment. He was attached to my regiment only administratively and in no way as a National Socialist political officer, as has often been reported. I was the regiment's sole leader, politically as well as militarily.

I had invited Hagen to lunch afterward in my quarters at the Rathenow barracks, together with my adjutant, 1st Lieutenant Siebert. Siebert, who had lost an eye in combat, was a pastor of the Confessional Church [that branch of the German Protestant Church which opposed Hitler—Trans.]. He attended services every Sunday at the Garrison Church, with my express permission, although I myself had left the church. Among us personal freedom was the rule. Nor did it bother me that, after having been an SA stormtrooper and a member of the party during the years of struggle before Hitler came to power, he had resigned from both organizations to protest defamatory remarks by his local party leader concerning the ancestry of Jesus Christ. Lt. Siebert suffered no adverse consequences due to his resignation.

In those days that sort of thing was entirely possible, with no repercussions. Indeed, before I chose Siebert, due to his character,

as my adjutant, he confided to me that while still a stormtrooper he had broken into a Gestapo office in order to obtain documents incriminating colleagues in the Confessional Church. For me Siebert's frank admissions were just a further evidence of the personal élan that recommended him as a trustworthy adjutant. That's the way it was in the Third Reich, so widely execrated nowadays. Neither in my unit nor in the officer corps as a whole did there prevail the stubborn narrowmindedness, not to mention the sort of terror against dissenting opinions, that is carried on against nationalists in West Germany today by the Office for Constitutional Protection. Nor have I ever heard that Pastor Siebert considered himself to be a "resistance fighter" or that he later pretended to have been one.

Characteristic of our open-mindedness was a discourse which took place after lunch between Hagen, the topnotch cultural historian, and Pastor Siebert concerning the *Heliand* [an Old Saxon Bible adoptation—Trans.]. The question involved the extent to which traditional Germanic structures were invoked in order to render the new and alien doctrine understandable. Thus Christ was represented as a warlord, and his disciples the warrior band. After a while, I lost interest in the two scholarly gamecocks' wordy contention, so I placed a reconciliatory bottle of wine on the table and headed for the swimming pool at the nearby sports arena to keep myself fit for my next front assignment.

During the early afternoon of July 20, 1944 my regiment, like all units of the Replacement Army, was alerted by the codeword "Valkyrie." "Valkyrie" provided for the mobilization of the Replacement Army in case of internal unrest. While my regiment automatically implemented the prescribed measures, I was summoned from the swimming pool. In compliance with my orders I drove immediately to my designated post, the Berlin City Command Center, directly across from the "Eternal Watch" honor guard. While the other unit commanders waited in the anteroom, I alone was admitted to the city commander, Major General von Hase, and given the following briefing on the situation and my assignment:

> The Führer has had a fatal accident! Civil disorder has broken out! The Army has assumed executive authority! The guard regiment is ordered to concentrate a strong force, reinforced for counterattack, to seal off the government quarter so that nobody, not even a general or a government minister, can enter or leave! To support you in sealing off the streets and subways I'm seconding Lieutenant Colonel Wolters to your command!

As these orders were being issued, I was struck by the circumstance that a younger officer of the general staff, Major Hayessen, assisted, while the former and senior general staff officer, whom I knew personally, stood about, idle and noticeably nervous.

I was naturally very shocked by the general's words, since I felt that with Hitler's death the possibility of a favorable turn in the war had almost disappeared. Immediately, I asked:

> Is the Führer actually dead? Was it an accident or has he been assassinated? Where have civil disturbances occurred? I saw nothing unusual while driving here through Berlin. Why is executive authority passing to the Army and not to the Wehrmacht? Who is the Führer's successor? According to Hitler's testament Hermann Göring is automatically his successor. Has he issued any orders or proclamations?

Since I received neither detailed information nor clear answers to my questions, the situation became even murkier, and I felt a certain sense of mistrust even from the beginning. When I tried to get a brief glimpse of the papers which lay before me on the table, above all to see who had signed the orders, Major Hayessen ostentatiously gathered them up and put them in a folder. As I returned to my regiment I was oppressed by the notion that "Hitler's dead, now confusion reigns, various people will probably try to seize power." I contemplated the future struggles for succession.

I decided that, in any case, I would not allow myself to be misused in my capacity as commander of the only elite unit on active duty in Berlin. My regiment was made up entirely of picked, proven combat soldiers with high decorations for bravery. Every officer sported the Knight's Cross. I bore in mind as well the events of 1918, after which the Berlin guard units had been reproached for their hesitancy, which contributed to the success of the revolution. I had no desire to expose myself to a similar reproach before History.

When I returned to my troops, I gathered my officers and informed them of the situation and our orders. The alleged death of Adolf Hitler sent officers and men into shock. Never in my life, even at Germany's final defeat, have I witnessed such despondency. Despite the numerous stories which flourish today, that is the absolute truth: I vouch for it.

I made no secret to my officers that there was a lot that was still unclear, indeed mysterious to me, and that I would in no way allow myself or my unit to be exploited. I expressly demanded unconditional confidence and absolute obedience, just as at the front, from every one of my officers. This somewhat unusual demand was due to a telephone call I received during the briefing from a general I didn't recognize—it was probably Major General Friedrich Olbricht—at the High Command of the Replacement Army, requisitioning a company from my unit for a special assignment. This demand I explicitly rejected, pointing out that I had been entrusted with a clearly defined mission and that dispersing my forces didn't seem advisable.

After the briefing I received two reports which further disturbed

me. The first was from 1st Lt. Dr. Hagen, a member of my staff, who informed me that while on the way to the barracks he had seen Field Marshal Brauchitsch, in full uniform, driving his car on the streets of Berlin. This was strange, for Brauchitsch was retired. Given the circumstances, his appearance in uniform seemed remarkable. It later turned out that the officer seen by Dr. Hagen can't have been Brauchitsch. Probably it was one of the conspirators.

The second disconcerting report was from Lt. Colonel Wolters, who had been attached to my regiment as a liaison officer by the Command Center. He told me that I musn't believe he was there to keep tabs on me as an informer. Such a remark was completely uncalled for. Not only was it incongruous and annoying, it awoke precisely the suspicion it was designed to allay: somebody had something up his sleeve. As it turned out, the briefing I gave my officers caused the colonel misgivings. In order to avoid responsibility, he simply went home—an unthinkable course of action for an officer on active duty.

My doubts that Major General von Hase's description of the situation matched the facts, doubts strengthened by another version which had Hitler murdered by the SS, convinced me that I had to determine the facts for myself. I decided to telephone every command post I could. This was just basic reconnaissance, a matter of course for every commander before committing his troops. Needless to say this type of thinking and acting is quite at odds with the notorious corpse-like obedience that denigrators of the Third Reich's army attribute to it.

Among other things I decided to send 1st Lt. Dr. Hagen, who had eagerly volunteered, to the Reich Defense Commissioner for Berlin, Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Dr. Hagen had earlier worked under Dr. Goebbels in the Propaganda Ministry, and I believed that by dispatching him to Dr. Goebbels I would be informed about not only the military but also the political situation. Gauleiter and Defense Commissioner for Berlin as well as Propaganda Minister, Dr. Goebbels was in consequence of the former positions patron of the "Großdeutschland" Division, which was made up of soldiers from all the provinces of the Reich.

About an hour and a half after the "Valkyrie" order was given, my regiment, by then combat-ready, moved into the areas to be sealed off in accordance with its orders. The normal guard units, such as those at the War Memorial and the Bendlerblock, the headquarters of the Commander of the Replacement Army and of the Defense Production Office, remained at their posts. At about 4:15 p.m. Lt. Arends, the duty officer in the Bendlerblock, reported to me that he had been ordered to seal off all entrances to the building. A Colonel Mertz von Quirnheim, whom Lt. Arends didn't know, had given him this assignment. Lt. Arends had further been instructed by General

Olbricht to open fire on any SS units that might approach.

After personally inspecting my troops in their new positions, at about 5:00 p.m. I returned once more to the City Commander, General von Hase, to inform him that I had carried out his orders. At this time I was asked to established my command post there in the City Command Center, opposite the War Memorial. I had already set up a message center, commanded by Lt. Gees, in the Rathenow Barracks, with which I maintained telephone contact. Then von Hase gave me an additional assignment, to seal off a block of buildings north of the Anhalt Station (he showed me where on the map), very tightly.

As I commenced carrying out these orders, I ascertained that the block designated housed the Main Office of Reich Security. The unclearness, not to mention the deception, of this misleading order, could only strengthen my suspicions. Why wasn't I given explicit orders to place the Main Office of Reich Security under guard? It goes without saying that I would have carried out even this order.

Thus, on my third visit to General von Hase, I asked him directly: "Herr General, why am I receiving orders formulated so obscurely? Why wasn't I simply told to pay special attention to the Main Office of Reich Security?" Von Hase was quite nervous and excited. He didn't even respond to my question. If one wonders today how a young officer like me could allow himself such liberties with a general, it should be borne in mind that we young commanders saw ourselves as battle-hardened, proven combat leaders, and we had scant regard for the chairborne warriors of the home front.

In this connection I should like to point out something based on my long experience at the front: just as in the First World War it was the veteran commanders of the shock companies who epitomized the front experience, so in the Second World War it was the young commanders, come of age on the front, who had forged with their troops a sworn fellowship of combat. These men could not only fight, they wanted to fight, particularly since they believed in Germany's victory.

While in General von Hase's office I overheard from a conversation between the General and his First General Staff Officer that Goebbels was now to be arrested, and that this assignment was to be mine. Since I found this an unpleasant duty in light of my attempt to contact Goebbels, I jumped in and told General von Hase:

> Herr General, I consider myself unsuitable for this assignment. As you know, I've been with the "Großdeutschland" Division, I've worn its stripe, for years. For me your mission would be very unchivalrous, for as you are doubtless aware, Dr. Goebbels, in his capacity as Gauleiter of Berlin, is at the same time the patron of the "Großdeutschland." Only two weeks ago I paid Goebbels my first call as new commander of the guard regiment. On these grounds I consider it inappropriate that I, in

particular, be ordered to arrest my patron.

Possibly von Hase sympathized with my arguments; from whatever grounds he now ordered the military police to take Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels into custody.

Around 5:30 p.m. Lt. Dr. Hagen finally met with Dr. Goebbels in his private residence, at 20 Hermann-Göring Strasse beside the Brandenburg Gate, after having tried in vain to see him at the Propaganda Ministry. The Reich Minister had no idea of the danger he was in. It was only after Hagen, in order to emphasize how serious the situation was, pointed out vehicles from the guard regiment as they drove by, that Goebbels took fright. He cried, "This is impossible, what shall we do?"

To which Hagen suggested, "The best thing would be for you to summon my commander here."

Goebbels asked curtly: "Can your commander be trusted?" "I'd lay down my life for him!" replied Hagen.

As I was going down the corridor just after leaving the City Commander's office, I finally found my bearings as a result of Hagen's contacting Goebbels.

Hagen had driven back to the barracks, given Gees his instructions, and then driven to my new command post at the Command Center, which was being heavily guarded. To avoid any hindrance, he did not enter the building, but informed my adjutant, Lt. Siebert, and my orderly, Lt. Buck, of the situation, asking them to inform me without delay. They reported as follows:

> There's a completely new situation! This is probably a military putsch! Nothing further is known! The Reich Defense Commissioner requests that you come to him as quickly as possible! If you're not there within twenty minutes, he will assume that you are being forcibly restrained. In that case he will be compelled to alert the Waffen-SS. To avoid civil war, he has until then ordered the Leibstandarte [Hitler's personal bodyguard, the 1st Division of the Waffen-SS—Trans.] to stay where it is.

When I learned these things from my adjutant, I decided to see General von Hase one more time. That I still trusted the Major General, even then, is shown by my having Lt. Buck repeat to me once again, in the presence of von Hase, the message from Goebbels. I didn't want to seem an intriguer; as a veteran combat officer it was my practice to lay all my cards on the table.

Von Hase bluntly rejected my request to comply with the Reich Defense Commissioner's summons so that I might clarify the situation in the interest of all concerned. After leaving the Command Center without interference, I deliberated, together with my adjutant, Lt. Siebert—today a pastor in Nuremberg—as to what I should do. My key role in this difficult and obscure situation, which I had not caused, was increasingly clear to me. I felt that by now my

head was on the line too. After evaluating the situation as carefully as I could at that time, I decided that in spite of von Hase's order to the contrary I would go to Goebbels. My reasons were as follows:

First, I didn't want to be deprived of my freedom of action under any circumstances, as often happened at the front. Often there was a very thin line between being awarded a high decoration or being sentenced to death by a court martial.

Second, I felt myself still bound by my oath; so far the report of the Führer's death was at least doubtful. Thus, I had to act in keeping with the oath I swore on the flag.

Third, at the front I had many times made responsible decisions on my own, decisions the correctness of which was confirmed by my being awarded high decorations. Many a situation can only be mastered by decisive action. I felt as one with my comrades at the front, who wouldn't understand were I to stand idly by out of a lack of civic courage. I could not allow myself the responsibility of letting things come to a fatal head. I thought of 1918.

Fourth, I was under compulsion, since Goebbels had plans to alert the Waffen-SS, raising the possibility that a fraternal war between two forces, each proven in combat, might break out. As the commander of the only elite unit in Berlin on active duty I was responsible for the lives of the men entrusted to me. To employ them in a totally confused affair was not my duty.

Nevertheless, I didn't entirely trust Goebbels either, for I still assumed that Hitler was dead, and believed a struggle for succession was possible. I was far from wanting to let myself and my unit be thrust into a latterday Diadochian struggle. Inasmuch as Goebbels' role remained unclear, I took along Lt. Buck and a platoon of soldiers. Their orders were to come and get me if I didn't emerge from Goebbels' residence in fifteen minutes.

Then, after releasing the safety catch of my pistol, I entered the Reich Minister's office, where I had been eagerly awaited, and asked Goebbels to orient me. With that, Goebbels asked me to tell him everything I knew. I did so, although I didn't reveal that von Hase intended to arrest him, since I was still unclear as to Goebbels' role in all this. When he asked me what I intended to do, I told him that I would stick to my military orders and that I was determined to carry them out. Even if the Führer were no longer alive, I felt bound by my oath and could only act in accord with my conscience as an officer. At that Goebbels looked at me in amazement and cried: "What are you talking about? The Führer is alive! I've spoken with him on the telephone. The assassination failed! You've been tricked."

This information came as a complete surprise. When I heard that the Führer was still alive, I was greatly relieved. But I was still

suspicious. Therefore I asked Goebbels to assure me, on his word of honor, that what he said was true and and that he stood unconditionally behind the Führer. Goebbels hesitated at first, because he didn't understand the reason for my request. It was only after I repeated that as an officer I needed his word of honor in order to see my way clear that he obliged.

My wish to telephone the Führer's headquarters coincided with his. Within seconds I was connected to the Wolf's Lair at Rastenburg in East Prussia. To my great surprise Hitler himself came on the line. Geobbels quickly explained the situation to the Führer and then handed me the receiver.

Adolf Hitler said to me, approximately, the following: "Major Remer, can you hear me, do you recognize my voice? Do you understand me?" I replied affirmatively, but I was nevertheless uncertain. It flashed through my mind that someone could possibly be imitating the Führer's voice. To be sure I had become personally acquainted with the Führer's voice during the previous year, when, after he had awarded me the Oak Leaf to the Knight's Cross, I had been able to speak alone and completely frankly with him for an hour about the cares and miseries of the front. It was only as he continued speaking over the telephone that I became convinced that I was indeed speaking with Hitler. He went on:

> As you can tell, I'm alive. The assassination has failed, providence didn't intend it. A small clique of ambitious, disloyal, and traitorous officers wanted to kill me. Now we've got these saboteurs of the front. We'll make short work of this treacherous plague, by brute force if necessary.
>
> From this moment on, Major Remer, I am giving you complete authority in Berlin. You are responsible to me personally and exclusively for the immediate restoration of peace and security in the Reich capital. You will remain under my personal command for this purpose until Reichsführer Himmler arrives there and relieves you of responsibility.

The Führer's words were very calm, determined, and convincing. I could breathe a sigh of relief, for the conversation had removed all my doubts. The soldier's oath which I had sworn to the Führer was still binding, and the guiding principle of my actions. Now my only concern was to eliminate misunderstandings and to avoid unnecessary bloodshed by acting quickly and decisively.

Goebbels asked me to inform him of the content of my conversation with Hitler, and asked me what I intended to do next. He placed the downstairs rooms of his house at my disposal, and I set up a new command post there. By this time it was 6:30 p.m. The first report of the bomb attack in the Führer's headquarters was broadcast over the Greater German Radio Network around fifteen minutes later.

Due to my visit to the Berlin City Command Center I had a rough idea, for the most part, of the dispositions of the units advancing on Berlin. To let their commanders know the real situation, I dispatched staff officers in all directions to bring the word. Success was total. The question "The Führer—with him or against him?" worked miracles. I would like to state unequivocally that every one of these commanding officers, who like me were outraged at what had happened, subordinated themselves unconditionally to my command, although they all outranked me. Thus, they demonstrated that their soldier's oaths were binding for them as well. Difficulties, temporary in nature, arose here and there, where personal briefings were not immediately possible.

Due to the prevailing uncertainty and because of misunderstanding—some thought that the guard regiment's sealing off its designated area meant that it had mutinied—on two occasions my regiment came within a hair's breadth of being fired on by other units. At the Fehrbelliner Platz an armored brigade had assembled at the order of the conspirators, but an order radioed by Lt. General Guderian removed it from the conspirators' control. Thereafter this unit undertook reconnaissance and mistakenly concluded that the guard regiment "Großdeutschland" was on the side of the conspirators and had apprehended Reich Minister Goebbels. Several of the brigade's tanks advanced tentatively, and bloodshed would have been a near thing had I not intervened personally to clear up the confusion.

The same thing happened in front of the Bendlerblock, the headquarters of the Commander of the Replacement Army, when a Panzergrenadier company tried to take over from my guard, which had been authorized by the Führer. The energetic intervention of officers from my regiment made possible a clarification at the last moment and prevented German soldiers from firing on each other. Here too the question "Hitler—with him or against him?" proved decisive. I had sent one of my company commanders, Captain Schlee, to the Bendlerblock in order to clear things up. At this point I had no idea that the leadership of the conspiracy had its headquarters there. Schlee had orders to withdraw our guards, because I wanted, as much as possible, to avoid bloodshed. When he arrived he was ordered to see General Olbricht. He took the precaution of telling the guard to bring him out by force in the event he didn't return promptly. In fact he was placed under arrest in the general's waiting room by Colonel Mertz von Quirnheim, who told him to stay there. When Mertz went into Olbricht's office, however, Schlee simply walked away.

When he returned to our guard, Lt. Arends informed him of a strange occurrence. He'd heard shouts coming from an upper story of the building, and just then a typewriter and a telephone came

flying through the window and into the courtyard. Schlee did an about-face and led a patrol back up to find out what was going on. He quickly identified the room from which the noise was coming; it was locked, but not under guard, and the key was still in the lock. Inside was General von Kortzfleisch, commanding general of the Berlin Military District: it was he who had thrown the objects out the window. The general had been summoned to the Bendlerblock to receive his orders. On his arrival, he steadfastly refused to cooperate with the conspirators. He was arrested and locked in, but left unguarded. Now that he was free, he gave us our first information as to the leadership of the conspiracy.

At 7:30 p.m. our guards were relieved, in keeping with orders. Olbricht had to replace our guard detail with his own officers. The commander of the new guard was Lt. Colonel Fritz von der Lancken. As he was moving out Schlee learned from a captain in the communications center in the Benderblock that Major Remer had been ordered by the Führer to put down the putsch. They had been able to overhear my conversation with the Führer, and recognized that the telexes they were to send out were the conspirators' orders. Thus the men in the communications center deliberately delayed sending the messages, or in some cases didn't dispatch them at all.

Truly a masterfully prepared plan: the conspirators had no accomplices! Furthermore, telexes and telephone messages continued to come in from the Führer Headquarters, making the actual state of affairs quite clear.

Countless orders were given that late afternoon of the twentieth of July. Among other measures I moved the replacement brigade of the "Großdeutschland" from Cottbus to the outskirts of Berlin as a combat reserve. The brigade, too, had gotten different orders from the conspirators beforehand. Its tried and true commander, Colonel Schulte-Neuhaus, who had lost an arm in combat and whom I knew from the front, reported to my command post. I introduced him to Goebbels. Meanwhile I concentrated my own troops more tightly around the Reich Chancery complex, and formed a strong combat reserve in the garden of Goebbels' official residence. Goebbels asked me to address the troops assembled there, which I did. Their outrage at the traitorous goings-on was so great that they would have torn every single conspirator to pieces, had they been there.

Then I sealed off the City Command Center, for I'd gotten the impression that there was a number of questionable characters there. I also learned that after my refusal to arrest Goebbels, the military police had been ordered to do so. I waited in vain for them to appear. Later I heard that not a single unit was ready to arrest Dr. Goebbels, so that it was left to von Hase himself. The City Commander was at this point at the headquarters of the deputy commander, to which he had driven in order to work out further

measures with the general, who had been installed there by the conspirators. They had discussed things for two hours without coming to a decision, typical behavior for these combat-shy conspirators.

After General von Hase's return to the City Command Center was reported to me, I asked him over the telephone to come by my command post at Goebbels' residence in order to clarify the situation. At first he refused my invitation, and demanded that, since I was his subordinate, I should report to him at the Command Center. It was only after I informed him that I had been ordered personally by the Führer to restore peace and order, as his immediate subordinate; that thus von Hase was under my orders; and that I would come and get him if he didn't appear of his own free will, that the general arrived. At this point I was still under the impression that von Hase, who had often been my guest at the officers' club, who frequently expressed his solidarity with the soldiers at the front, and who on no account omitted a "Sieg Heil!" to his beloved Führer from any speech, had been deceived, just as I had been, and was unaware of the facts. Therefore I apologized for my unusual treatment. On his arrival von Hase was affability personified; he even praised me for my independence and decisiveness, and for seeking out Goebbels, by which I had averted a good deal of mischief.

Even with Goebbels von Hase played the innocent, and acted as if he had no inkling of any conspiracy. He was asked to stand by for further information, and a room was placed at his disposal. As von Hase left Goebbels' office, there was an embarrassing incident, which made me, as a German officer, blush for shame. In these very tense circumstances, von Hase stated that he had been busy the whole day and hadn't had a thing to eat. Goebbels immediately offered to have a sandwich prepared and asked him if he would like a glass of Mosel or Rhine wine as well. As soon as von Hase had left the office, Goebbels sneered:

> "My name is Hare [Hase], I know nothing." That's the stuff our revolutionary putsch generals are made of. With the irons still in the fire they want to be wined and dined, and call their mommies on the telephone. In their place I'd see my tongue ripped out before I'd make such contemptible requests.

Two events illustrate how little thought and planning went into the putsch. My conversations and orders were routed through the same communications center in the Bendlerblock, headquarters of the conspiracy, from which the plotters' orders were being disseminated in all directions. The communications officers could have delayed my orders or not transmitted them at all, or they could have interrupted my telephone calls, none of which they did. I even

received a message from the Reich Broadcasting Service, inquiring about what was going on. As a result, I was able to give the order that under no circumstances was any unscheduled transmission to be made. As a result this important communications medium was denied to the plotters as well.

What transpired at the Broadcasting Center on the Masurenallee? Major Jacob had been ordered to occupy the Broadcasting Center. Astonishingly enough he had been ordered neither to broadcast any announcements nor to shut down the station. He attempted to telephone the conspirators to report his occupation of the radio station and to request additional orders. He had no luck, however: he wasn't put through, as happened at many offices. For front-line soldiers the loss of telephone connections was a frequent occurrence. In such a case the normal procedure was to establish radio communications or to send a courier. Major Jacob had a teleprinter at his disposal as well, but he used none of these methods. Stauffenberg, the General Staff officer who planned the putsch, gave no thought to furnishing motorcycle couriers—such trivial details were studiously overlooked!

Rudolf-Günther Wagner, the man who was to broadcast the conspirators' proclamations, said later:

> I had known for years that I was to broadcast the proclamation on the day of the putsch. I awaited with feverish excitement the arrival of the lieutenant who was to bring me the proclamation. Unfortunately I waited in vain, until I heard from Goebbels' loudspeakers that the assassination had failed.

As is now well known, General Lindemann, who had the text of the proclamation, was nowhere to be found. General Beck was not willing to step in; he ordered Hans-Bernd Gisevius, a conspirator with the Abwehr, to bring the proclamation. First, however, Gisevius had to speedily draft a new statement, while the conspirators Stauffenberg, Hoepner, Yorck, Schwerin, and Schulenburg shouted suggestions at him. For this fiasco, too, Stauffenberg, the "manager" of the conspiracy, bears responsibility. To keep a broadcasting station in operation requires skilled and trustworthy personnel. A team had been ordered to the City Command Center but waited there idly until it was arrested during the counteraction. Hans Kasper, who was part of Operation Jacob, later commented:

> It was around that time that the twentieth of July collapsed. From the perspective of a radio editor it was tragic. Tragic because the way in which details were handled made it obvious that this revolt had had very little chance of succeeding.

In the meantime Lt. Schlee had reported to me what was happening at the Bendlerblock. I knew nothing of the inside story,

nor that Lt. General Fromm, Commander in Chief of the Replacement Army, had withdrawn from the plot and been arrested by the conspirators. Schlee was further ordered, after our guards had been relieved, to surround and seal off the Bendlerblock, without entering the buildings. At about 7:00 p.m. I felt I had the situation in Berlin in hand. The tension began to subside.

[*This article was translated from Otto Ernst Remer's book* Verschwörung und Verrat um Hitler (*Conspiracy and Betrayal Around Hitler*), *published by Verlag K. W. Schütz, Preussisch Oldendorf, West Germany, reviewed in this journal by H. Keith Thompson. The contents of this article closely parallel General Remer's address to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference.—Ed.*]

Imposed German Guilt: The Stuttgart Declaration of 1945

R. CLARENCE LANG

(Paper Presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference)

President Ronald Reagan, in preparation for his celebrated visit to the German military cemetery at Bitburg in 1985, termed the alleged collective German guilt for the Second World War "imposed" and "unnecessary."[1] That President Reagan felt compelled to express himself so clearly demonstrates that the German guilt said to stem from the Second World War is still a burning issue. The president's words, and the furor that attended them, are a clear mandate for us to examine anew the nature of this imposed guilt, and the persons and circumstances that imposed it.

I. Broad Perspectives Regarding The Declaration

The concern of this paper is the background to the declaration of German guilt made in Stuttgart, Germany by eleven leading German churchmen in connection with a visit by a delegation of eight non-German churchmen on October 18-19, 1945. The declaration began: "We are especially thankful for this visit, since we realize that we are not only united with our people in a great company of suffering, but also *in a solidarity of guilt.*" [Emphasis added][2] By linking "our people" with "a solidarity of guilt," these German clergymen conjured up that entity known as "German guilt."

This paper focuses as well on the role of Pastor Niemöller, doubtless the most famous of the eleven German churchmen who signed the Declaration of Stuttgart. A U-boat hero in the First World War who hailed Hitler's rise to power in 1933, Niemöller later publicly opposed the National Socialist regime and became an object of international sympathy after his incarceration in a concentration camp.[3] That Niemöller, a Lutheran, should so avidly have advocated a collective German guilt is an aberration, for no one more clearly recognized that the nature of guilt is personal, and not collective, than Martin Luther. As the theologian Martin Köhler pointed out, the young Luther's Ninety-Five Theses of 1517 were expressions of

"a religion of the individual conscience."[4] Conscience and guilt go hand in hand. As with guilt, so with repentance, sin, reconciliation, justification, and forgiveness: for Luther these religious entities only become real only through that inner commitment called faith. Guilt, like faith, can by its very nature only be personal. To be sure, everyone in a group may believe, but never the group as such, for each one believes only as an individual. Merely because a person belongs to a group outwardly does not mean so inwardly.

Since Lutherans take guilt and its nature seriously, Niemöller should have grasped the fallacy in the concept of a collective German guilt. Instead, it has fallen to the Revisionists, many of them nonprofessing Christians, to carry out the Gospel endeavor of refuting the collective guilt which has been fallaciously imposed on the Germans. The work of the Revisionists has also brought to light a motive of the victors—and their allies in postwar Germany—in unilaterally imposing a collective guilt on their defeated enemies: the victors' need to be exonerated of their own misdeeds. The defeated Germans, at the mercy of their conquerors in staged trials which afforded the accused little opportunity to place the war in historical perspective, were unable to raise the issue of the war crimes of the victors. This pretense of a collective, unilateral criminality on the part of the Germans afforded the victors a classic, dehumanizing, un-Christian exoneration.

By laying bare the crimes of the victors, Revisionist historians have demonstrated that guilt for the Second World War is shared, not unilateral. One need only point to David Irving's classic *The Destruction of Dresden*, which demonstrated that although the Allies, with victory a certainty, had a wider range of options to act humanely, they chose to be even more brutal and vindictive, to the bitter end.[5]

While the senseless and unnecessary terror bombing campaign is well known, certain aspects of the hunger blockade which the Allies imposed on German-occupied Europe are less familiar. It is a little known fact that Allied leaders vetoed efforts of the Famine Relief Committee, formed in 1942, to send food to the hard-pressed civilians of occupied Europe after an initial success in Greece, where, in cooperation with the International Red Cross and with the permission of the Germans, tens of thousands of lives were saved by food supplied from Allied nations. Thereafter Allied leaders, above all America's Franklin Roosevelt and Britain's Winston Churchill, were obdurate in their refusal to cooperate with the Famine Relief Committee and the Red Cross. These men used food as a weapon during the war; afterwards they profited from the lurid images and descriptions of the horrors of the concentration camps at the war's close. Many of these horrors were the direct result of Allied policy

makers' refusal to cooperate with international organizations such as the FRC and IRC.

That this is not mere speculation is evident from the final report of the Famine Relief Committee. As the victorious Allies advanced into Germany, and the FRC handed over the balance of its funds to the Friends' [Quakers] Relief Service, the Committee's last report concluded:

> It should have been obvious to all intelligent people that our food blockade of the continent of Europe would bring untold torture and suffering to our friends and allies and would do little or no harm to our enemy . . . It has been possible to obtain proof that our food blockade did not shorten the war by a single hour . . . History will judge our government harshly for its futile persistence in the policy of total blockade of foodstuffs.[6]

The Famine Relief Committee was by no means an isolated Allied voice, for there were vigorous advocates of such a humanitarian policy in high government positions, particularly in the U.S. House of Representatives. As late in the war as June 28, 1943 (six months after Stalingrad, amid a growing realization that the Germans could not win), an emotional debate took place on Capitol Hill. The Republican minority leader, Harold Knutsen, a congressman since 1917, pleaded: "What the Society of Friends is doing in northern France, and what the Swedes and Swiss are doing in Greece, can be done in Poland, Finland, Norway, Denmark and the Low Countries, as well as the balance of occupied France." After pointing out that financing would not be a problem, since the Allies had frozen considerable assets after the Germans occupied these countries, the Minnesotan Knutsen, strongly supported by fellow Republican Congressmen Walter H. Judd (MN), Carl T. Curtis (NE), Walter F. Horan (WI), and Christian A. Herter (MA) accusingly ended the debate: "One word from either of them [Roosevelt or Churchill] would banish all the horrors of famine and pestilence from Poland, Finland, Norway, Denmark and the Low Countries. Will they rise to the occasion? The future of white civilization in Europe rests in their hands."[7] It is evident that in 1943 Roosevelt and Churchill, mindful of the postwar Morgenthau Plan with its cold-blooded imposition of unilateral guilt on the Germans, refused any life-saving measures. (One must also wonder what became of the vast financial resources of the occupied countries seized by the Allies.)

The Famine Relief Committee in 1945, and the congressmen in 1943, could not foresee that in line with the Morgenthau Plan, the Allied blockade would be transformed into a postwar American and British military ban on all private and church humanitarian aid to about 85,000,000 Germans. Nor could they have foreseen that this ban would become a tool whereby Allied Protestant churchmen

would, in an utterly un-Christian fashion, manipulate fellow Christian German churchmen in an attempt to impose a lingering guilt on the German people. They could not foresee that this would help to transform the Church of the Reformation, "a fellowship of believers," into a political sect, i.e., an entity using its resources primarily for political, not religious purposes, above all to "re-educate" the Germans.

II. Theological and Other Implications of the Declaration of Stuttgart

Reflecting on the basic thrust of the declaration, the German Lutheran Old Testament scholar Friedrich Baumgärtel wrote: "The consciousness of guilt that drives one to confess is, is it not, born of the uneasiness of the conscience over *specific, concrete* completed deeds and behavior?" [Emphasis added][8]

Baumgärtel's implication, that consciousness of guilt cannot be generalized or collectivized, has been powerfully amplified by the German theologian Dr. Walter Bodenstein in *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*, a treatise devoted to the Declaration of Stuttgart. Bodenstein writes: "The words 'solidarity of guilt' take for granted that a collective entity is capable of becoming guilty. Thus a group is treated as an individual." Setting this in the Christian context, Bodenstein points out:

> That nations were seen as individuals is true, so in the Old Testament the nations surrounding Israel, as well as Israel itself, were spoken of as persons. Babylon became the "daughter of Babylon" and Israel "the daughter of Zion" (Isaiah 41:7; Zech. 9). The prophets of Israel personified their people as "a servant of God," and as "son of man" in order to express Israel's task in the world of nations. But who can overlook that these were images and *through that not groups but only individuals can be responsible and become guilty.* (Psalm 6; Ezekiel 18: 5-10)[9]

This fluctuation, from unreal collective (or theocratic) groups to real personal (or fellowship) groups, can be traced in the Old Testament. Regardless of how much of the Old Testament one regards as historical, it is in the New Testament that the personal becomes paramount in the struggles of Jesus and the early church, above all in the confrontation with Phariseeism culminating in the liberating Gospel experience of the Apostle Paul. Based on Paul and the Scriptures, the Gospel became viable once again through Luther, in his struggle with the legalistic ecclesiasticism of his day.

Much becomes clearer in looking at the broader theological context here. For Roman Catholics the starting point is the specific organization of the Church; for Jews the Covenants in the Holy Torah (the Law); for Calvinists (i.e., Puritans, Huguenots, and

Reformed), the Holy Will of God; for Lutherans, however, as for the Apostle Paul, the starting point is the personal, sinful human condition, befitting Luther's lonely words: "Here, I stand." For Lutherans the Church is thus a fellowship of believers, not a theocracy.

For Lutherans the heart of religion is life personally experienced in terms of accusatory aspects, referred to generically as the Law, and on the other hand forgiving or consolatory aspects, called the Christian Gospel. The Law includes all accusatory aspects of life. The Jewish Torah is thus seen as not unique, but a merely one of the cutting edges impelling persons to the Christian Gospel, which relativizes and overcomes life's accusatory aspects. More than good news, the Gospel is the inner liberating experience which affirms life, dispels negative, accusatory impositions, and emanates appreciation and thankfulness. The Gospel finds its highest expression in thankfulness to God for Jesus Christ. That forgiveness was Martin Luther's keystone is clear from his *Catechism*: "Where there is forgiveness of sins there is also life and salvation." In a nutshell, what is at stake is the cardinal teaching of the Christian Church, that is, justification by faith alone.

Some of the sharpness of the Gospel that emanated through Luther was dulled by the puritanical legalism of John Calvin. Today, Christians are in danger of blending this puritanical legalism with that of what has been termed "the Zionist entity," as this entity attempts to impose the guilt consciousness associated with the term "Holocaust" on successive generations, not only of Germans but of Christians in general, thereby undermining the Gospel of forgiveness. Thus the guilt imposed on the Germans has great implications for Christianity as well.

The danger is that the Church be turned into a theocracy, and thus cease to be a Church. In a theocracy religious unity is based on divine laws, and God is regarded primarily as the Lawgiver. The Church, "the fellowship of believers," bases its religious unity on a personal faith which regards God as the creator and sustainer of redeeming faith. The essence of the Church is appreciation and thankfulness to God, the highest and most powerful form of thankfulness. Nor is the fundamental issue of how we look at ourselves and others to be overlooked in this connection. At stake is the free, autonomous personality, a personality that the Church is to protect and foster.

Christianity indeed speaks of a human, Adamic sin, but this is not a collectivity of individual transgressions, as if one could visualize sin in piles, with one pile being the sins of the Germans. Adamic sin is rather the personal realization that I find in myself the same personal centeredness and selfishness that I am convinced is also in

others. To be sure, interpretations may vary, but for our purposes it is evident that there can be no separate German heart. That the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt took place is historical fact; when one confronts the fallaciousness of this imposed, factitious guilt, it wholly evaporates. What is here said as to German guilt applies equally well to "Nazi," or National Socialist, guilt.

Theologically, Christians are obligated to ask how long they can allow Christianity, and the various Western nations, to be held hostage to historically unprecedented "guilt trips" stemming from the Second World War, without losing the universality of the Gospel as well as a true perspective on history. The Gospel cannot be stripped of its universality in this way without losing its liberating power, the essence of the Gospel, which is the foundation of the Church.

How ironic it is that Revisionists, often non-Christians, are fulfilling this Christian role, as they unintentionally prove the Apostle Paul was indeed right when he proclaimed that "all have sinned."

III. Niemöller and Barth Set the Stage for Stuttgart

Since the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt is intimately asssociated with Martin Niemöller, certain insights are to be gained in treating him as a focal personality. Shortly after Adolf Hitler succeeded in creating political stability after a virtual two-year civil war against chaos and Bolshevism, Niemöller's name became well known inside Germany and abroad.[10] One of the founders of the Confessional Church, and later incarcerated in concentration camps as a personal prisoner of Adolf Hitler, Niemöller became the darling of the international anti-German propagandists.

The Confessional Church was named for the confession proclaimed in May, 1934 at Barmen a city in the Ruhr. The Confessional Church comprised mostly Reformed (Calvinist) Protestants; quite a few Lutherans participated, however. (American readers should bear in mind that the state-supported German Protestant Church comprised both Lutheran and Reformed congregations, although such congregations remained separate.) The confessors renewed their pledge to Jesus Christ as the only head of the Church. This was meant to counter the "German Christians," Hitler's supporters within the Protestant Church, who were accused of trying to replace Jesus Christ with Adolf Hitler. The implication of the Barmenites, carried to its extreme, meant that Hitler wanted to take the place of Christ in the Church, with persons baptized, confirmed, and ordained in his name. While it is true that Hitler professed faith in Providence (unlike such men as Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky), there is no evidence that he had any such plans as the

Confessional Church and its supporters imputed to him.

The differences between the Barmen confessors and many traditional Lutherans were a factor in the later imposition of German guilt at Stuttgart, so it is well to examine them. Most German Lutheran pastors and theologians neither participated in nor subscribed to the Confession of Barmen. Some German Lutherans were ardent National Socialists, some German Christians (in Bavaria about twelve per cent of the clergy were German Christians).[11] Like the theologian Paul Althaus, most Lutherans opposed the Confession of Barmen on theological grounds, for the Confession spoke exclusively of God's revelation in Jesus Christ, rejecting or bypassing the traditional doctrine of Lutherans and Catholics, of a God-implanted natural, universal revelation. Althaus and others saw their convictions reinforced by the Apostle Paul, who spoke of God's law written in the hearts of all people, and the Evangelist John, who spoke of "the true light which lights *everyone*." Calling this the *Uroffenbarung* [basic or original revelation], Althaus argued convincingly that, merely because some might abuse natural, universal revelation for political purposes, it was no grounds for rejecting there in claiming that Jesus Christ was God's sole revelation, as the Confessors of Barmen had done.[12]

Barmen, however, was only the first manifestation, so many Lutherans became convinced, of a subtle theological manipulation associated with the Swiss Karl Barth and his allies, who sought to undermine the foundations of Lutheranism, expounded in the Lutheran Confessional Writing of 1580. As will be demonstrated, the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt would be a further step in this process.

Seven years after the war, Althaus would correctly assess the German Christians, in recognizing that the main threat for Lutherans was not contained in their doctrinal errors, which had been successfully countered by Lutherans not involved in the Confessional Church. The danger, rather, lay in the "wild," "emotional," and "tumultuous" times, during which Germany had been virtually engulfed in a civil war. In such times the temptation is to minimize the Church's necessary theological role in favor of seeking solutions to political problems. Althaus pointed out that not a single group of theological professors of any stature or ecclesiastical respectability had espoused "German Christianity."[13]

In 1945 this was in any case no longer an issue, for Hitler was dead and the German Christians had been discredited by a friend and foe alike. In 1945, however, Martin Niemöller, just released from Dachau, had a problem: with Hitler gone and National Socialism vanquished, was there any future for the Confessional Church?[14] Why preach against a dead Hitler?

Niemöller found his new Gospel in the mission to warn Germany

and the world of the dangers of Hitlerism, and in preaching that the Germans had need to repent for Hitler and the Second World War. Who, if not the Confessional Church, could carry out this crusade in a fallen, degenerated, paganized, and Nazified Germany?[15] This image of Germany devoid of Christianity fell right in line with the propaganda of the victorious Allies, and helped justify their "re-education" and "denazifacation" of the Germans.[16]

To further his new Gospel, in July 1945 Niemoller summoned the Brother's Council of the Confessional Church to meet in Frankfurt. The meeting convened on August 21, with sixteen German brothers and one Swiss, who arrived in an American jeep and wore a U.S. Army uniform.

The Swiss, whose arrival had doubtless been orchestrated by the American Counter Intelligence Corps and the religious sections of the American and British military control commissions, needed few introductions at the Frankfurt Council, for he was Karl Barth, regarded by many as the world's foremost theologian. A Calvinist with an open anti-Lutheran bias, Barth was a leader in the ecumenical movement which arose in the last century, and which has sought to unify not only Protestanism, but indeed all Christendom.

Karl Barth was born in Basel, Switzerland in 1886. In 1919 he became famous in the theological world with his commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans.* In 1921 he was appointed a professor at the University of Göttingen. The Barmen Confession of 1934 was essentially his brainchild, despite some recent claims to the contrary.[17] After his unceasing criticism of the German government Barth was ousted from Germany. Secure again at Pilgerstrasse 25 in Basel, he became the favorite theologian of the anti-German propagandists.

Barth's basic theological thrust, in the view of his theological opponents, such as Paul Althaus, Emmanuel Hirsch, and Werner Elert, was to formulate his theology in such a way as to exclude the German Christians from Christianity, thus rejecting the traditional Christian view of a natural, universal revelation. In short, Barth was doing ecclesiastically, theologically, and morally what the Jewish boycott of Germany, proclaimed March 24, 1933, was doing economically.[18]

More than any other influential Christian, Karl Barth made a holy war out of the economically based tragedy that was the Second World War. His stance in this regard is documented in his letter to Professor Hronadka of Prague, in September 1938, even before the Germans had occupied the Sudetenland. "Every Czech," he wrote, "who fights [the Germans] and suffers in doing so is doing this for us—and I say it without reservation, he will also do it for the Church of Jesus Christ . . ."[19] After the war, this theological mentality would

claim that God had used Russian tanks and German bombers to teach the Germans a necessary lesson. Characteristic of Barth's thinking regarding the Lutherans was his claim that in the Hitler years, "The Lutherans slept while the Reformed stayed awake."

The Karl Barth who arrived under American auspices at the Brothers' Council in Frankfurt in August 1945 had been greatly strengthened by the organization, in Utrecht, Netherlands in 1938, of the Provisional World Council of Churches (PWCC). (It became the World Council of Churches in 1948.) This ecumenical group, which strove toward a unified Christian Church, was dominated by its secretary, W.A. Visser 't Hooft (of whom more later), a Calvinist and a strong ally of Barth.

In 1945 Barth, Visser 't Hooft, and other leaders of the PWCC feared the emergence of a strong, independent German Lutheran Church. With the help of such Lutheran allies as Niemöller they used such terms as "confessionalism," "denominationalism," and "separatism" to stigmatize this alleged danger.[20] Barth and his allies also evolved a dual strategy of isolating German Lutherans from the Scandinavian Lutheran churches, and availing themselves of the idea of the Germans' "collective guilt" to keep them on the defensive.

This strategy surfaced at the Brother's Council of the Confessional Church in Frankfurt. Until then the participating churchmen had spoken of those who had sinned by actively furthering National Socialism or those who had done nothing to stop the Hitler movement. Now these churchmen spoke of the enormous guilt that "our people" had "accumulated," a departure from the traditional Lutheran concept of guilt which has been discussed above.[21]

Essentially, the Frankfurt meeting was aimed at gaining influential positions in the upcoming All-German Protestant Churchleaders' Conference in Treysa, a small town near Kassel, from August 27 to September 1. The Brother's Council selected Niemöller and Barth to represent them. Barth was not even a German, leaving the question open of whether he imposed himself or was imposed on the Treysa conference. (The free churches, which were not state-supported, such as the Mennonites, Baptists, Free Lutherans and Methodists, were not present; these had their own meetings.)

At Treysa, the Confessional churchmen were able to pack the church council with either their members or their supporters, thereby frustrating the emergence of a viable German Lutheran Church independent from the PWCC. Bishop Marahrens, the influential Lutheran bishop of Hannover, who had past connection with the Confessional Church, was boycotted by his fellow believers.[22] He had talked to Hitler! The secretary of the PWCC, Visser 't Hooft, although not at Treysa, had written the Anglican Bishop Bell on July 24, 1945 that Marahrens "must disappear."[23] After constant hidden and overt pressures the bishop was driven to

resign two years later. He was replaced by Hans Lilje, a signer of the Stuttgart Declaration. In the New Testament lots were cast in the selecting of a replacement for Judas. The emergent postwar Germany churchleaders would hardly take such a risk.

The bitterness between the Swiss Calvinist Barth and the German Lutherans became dramatically visible at Treysa. When Barth's presence became known, the Bavarians, mostly Lutherans, threatened to leave. They were persuaded to stay.[24] As a theological student in Germany in the early 1950's, I was told that at one of the postwar meetings, possibly Treysa, Barth lampooned the German brothers for their lack of courage in standing up to Hitler, whereupon one dared stand up and shout: "We couldn't all run to Switzerland like you did."

In the closing session, Tresya seemed a dismal failure to some, but Barth's remarks were optimistic. Presumably, he sensed a successful check to the "Lutheran danger." After Treysa, the rest could be accomplished by the ever-handy insistence on atoning for Hitler.[25]

Yet, for Barth, uncertainities remained. In dejection he wrote Niemöller:

> How I wish you could make this matter [the issue of German guilt] your own. Believe me that, seen from the outside, it is truly a burning issue . . . so it is with me personally, when I, as I so often do, have to speak about the new Germany . . . I always get stuck when I have to give some kind of explanation which I still could not bring along either from Frankfurt nor from Treysa. I even have to say, "Yes, yes, they really mean it that way!" I would give a kingdom for a snappy [*klipp und klar*] written statement, a written statement which I could clearly show.[26]

On October 5, Niemöller responded: "That I can and will make this matter my own, you [the personal *Du*] should no longer doubt, after my speech in Treysa . . . nevertheless, I will see to it that I come up with a clear expression in the sense you hinted."

The American Methodist churchman Walter W. Van Kirk, who was a consultant to the American delegation to the UN conference in San Francisco in the spring of 1945, as well as secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, experienced none of Karl Barth's difficulties with regard to the continued need for German repentance. In his book *A Christian Global Strategy*, published before Stuttgart, he recognized the danger of a politically isolated Germany. Describing the defeated Germans as "a pariah people subject to all sorts of military controls," Van Kirk admonished: "But it must not be so between Western Christendom and the churches of Germany. There is but one family of God and all who breathe the name of Christ are encompassed within its fellowship." As if forseeing the Declaration of Stuttgart, he added: "Nor should certain members of that family sit in moral judgement upon other members. It is for God

to judge and exact reparation for guilt."[27] The contrast with Barth's approach is all too clear. As the German saying goes, "One hears from the forest [the echo of] what one shouts in."

Indeed, nearly everyone thought that the guilt issue had been taken care of satisfactorily at Treysa, rendering Barth's letter to Niemöller doubly strange. At the Treysa conference over a hundred of the churchmen present had adopted a resolution to the German people which included the words: ". . . today, we confess that long before God spoke in anger, God besought us in love, but we refused to heed his call." What else is Christian repentance but this?[28]

This confession was made in Germany, for Germans. It satisfied the religious press in America. Papers such as *The Lutheran Standard* carried headlines like: "Church of Germany Confesses Guilt."[29] The American church historian Richard Solberg, writing twelve years later, pointed out that the German Christians had been boycotted (obviously, anyone with a National Socialist past had simply stayed away): "At the historic meeting [Treysa] odious ties with the past were severed."[30] According to his biographer, the Anglican bishop George Bell claimed that the Germans had taken up and settled the guilt question.

What satisfied others, however, was not enough for Barth, nor for his powerful ally Visser 't Hooft, two Calvinists possessed of their own standards for repentance. Visser 't Hooft, the secretary of the Provisional World Council of Churches, revealed his own standard when, after insisting that the PWCC reserved all freedom of action in establishing ties with the German churches, he announced that the PWCC would deal only with those German churchmen who had demonstrated active opposition to Hitler.[31]

Visser 't Hooft's position as secretary of the PWCC equipped him to play a dominating role in forcing the Stuttgart declaration. A Calvinist from the Netherlands, he was the chief spokesman and policy maker of the PWCC, which operated from the same Geneva, Switzerland headquarters as the International Red Cross. Unlike the Red Cross, however, the PWCC was not neutral. During the war Visser 't Hooft worked with the Allied military, indeed some have maintained that he was an operative of the British Secret Service.[32]

Like Barth, Visser 't Hooft possessed the Calvinist "holy" determination to direct organizational action rather than to the indirect approach, which stresses changing inner convictions (the approach favored by Lutherans). This difference is readily apparent in Calvinistic terminology, with its predilection for theocratic, depersonalizing terms of reference: its "institutes," "eternal values," "principles," "plans," "being chosen," "purposes and causes," "covenants," and "goals." The Calvinist vision of the church is thus less a fellowship of believers than a theocracy, a "new Israel" with holy wars and holy causes, a vision that has worked itself out with

world-historical consequences in such diverse locales as Puritan New England and the South African Transvaal. It seems that Martin Luther sensed this difference in outlook more than 450 years ago, when in his colloquy at Marburg with Calvin's forerunner Ulrich Zwingli, Luther said: "Sie haben einen anderen Geist." [You have a different spirit or attitude.]

This different spirit was now ready to manifest itself at Stuttgart. The Treysa conference had elected a provisional council of twelve, which included only members sympathetic to the Confessional Church. Its chairman was Theophil Wurm, the seventy-eight year-old bishop of Stuttgart, a friend of Niemöller who had become well known in Germany during the war for his stand against euthanasia.[33] (A voice like Wurm's is sorely needed today, for according to a recent newspaper report an estimated six to ten thousand persons are being put to death annually in the Netherlands. In Germany euthanasia was ended by decree in 1942. Who or what can stop it in Holland?)

Niemöller became Bishop Wurm's deputy, one of whose duties was to seek ecumenical ties. For Niemöller this meant above all ties with Barth and his supporters in the PWCC, despite their patent bias against German Lutherans.

IV. The Material Basis for the Stuttgart Declaration

There was an unavoidable prerequisite for the declaration of German guilt which the eight churchmen, led by Visser 't Hooft, extracted from the German council of twelve. Visser 't Hooft had recently, by acquiring what amounted to control of Protestant aid to Germany, availed himself of a powerful lever, which as events proved, he was only too ready to use.

Here a little background as to Allied food policy with regard to postwar Germany is helpful. The dominant Western ally, the United States, had proclaimed its intention to impose a Carthaginian peace on Germany in the notorious Morgenthau Plan, which was publicized while the fighting still raged.[34]

As mentioned above, a food blockade was Allied policy throughout most of the war. To be fully effective, it was necessary that the blockade enlist the support of neutral nations and international organizations such as the Geneva-based International Red Cross. The Red Cross was a particularly bothersome thorn in the flesh of the Allies, for in the words of its president, Dr. Max Huber: "The Red Cross aids victims of war not because of their particular nationality or because they are fighting for this or that cause, but purely and simply because they are human beings, who are suffering and in need of help." In one of his writings Huber, a clergyman, went so far as to insist that the Good Samaritan was an

actual historical figure and not a parable.[35]

Slowly but surely, the Allies undermined the neutrality of the International Red Cross. In 1943, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was formed. UNRRA adopted a policy of subsidizing only those groups actually fighting against the Germans. Without question Allied policies, as carried out by UNRRA, impeded even the neutral aid which the Red Cross was able to provide in the German concentration camps. Despite this, according to the International Committee of the Red Cross, ". . . from 12 November 1943 to 8 May 1945, some 751,000 packages, weighing about 26,000 tons, were sent by the International Committee to deportees in concentration camps."[36]

UNRRA policies were, of course, coordinated with the unconditional surrender dictate and the Morgenthau Plan, which the American church historian Richard Solberg, who was present in postwar Germany, called "vengeful." Solberg points out that while the plan was never officially adopted, it was nevertheless largely carried out.[37]

With the occupation of Germany, UNRRA, headed first by Herbert Lehman and then by Fiorello La Guardia, continued to serve as an arm of Allied military policy. UNRRA enforced a policy that all material aid was to be provided to the displaced persons, or D.P.'s, first, and specified that Germans and Finns could not be considered D.P.'s.

The inhumanity of this Allied policy can be gathered from Sumner Welles' *Where Are We Heading*, published in 1946. After describing the masses of refugees from eastern Europe, Welles wrote: "Food supplies were totally inadequate to feed these hordes. The wave of anarchy . . . within western Germany of these masses of refugees was overpowering." Welles continued:

> For lack of an organized force of trained personnel to cope with this situation it was many months before there was any alleviation, before any efficient screening of these floating masses of humanity could be carried out, and before even a minimum of help could be given to that pitiful class of refugees, mainly of the Jewish faith, termed "displaced persons." No accurate record is yet available. But it can be asserted that for lack of effective organization to meet a situation which should have been foreseen, many thousands of innocent persons experienced a degree of tragedy and suffering which was altogether unnecessary.[38]

That a lack of American charity was not the problem can be seen from the fact that the Lutheran Synod of Missouri, representing only about a third of America's Lutherans, raised about six million dollars by August, 1945, a sum comparable to many times that amount in today's dollars.[39]

These charitable efforts, however, faced a considerable obstacle, for the policy of UNRRA was to forbid independent relief efforts,

even in the face of such catastrophic human misery as that occasioned by the postwar expulsion of more than ten million Germans from their ancestral homes in eastern Germany and other parts of central Europe.

Meanwhile, the PWCC, which was quite willing to cooperate with the Allies, had acquired control of a key church relief agency in Europe. The European Central Bureau of Relief of Suffering Churches had formerly been headed by the internationally known Swiss clergyman Adolf Keller. Under his leadership the Central Bureau had defied the Allied ban on aid: as late as June 1942 Keller wrote that "food packages are still being shipped to the professors of the theological faculty in Warsaw and [to] evangelical preachers."[40] When pressure exerted by North American churches forced Keller to resign under protest, his organization was absorbed into the new World Council of Churches Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid, headed by Dr. H. Hutchinson Cockburn.[41]

Shortly before Visser 't Hooft left for Stuttgart, this department was reorganized, and renamed the World Churches Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid. Its new chairman, Alphons Köchlin, president of the Swiss Protestant Church, set up an agency to coordinate all church aid to Germany, and named as its chairman none other than the secretary of the PWCC, Visser 't Hooft. Thus Visser 't Hooft, who had earlier articulated the PWCC policy of denying fellowship to ideologically unacceptable (read: German nationalist) churchmen, now had the last word on the allocation and distribution of all Protestant material aid to the Germans.[42]

V: A Confession of Guilt With No One to Give the Absolution

The events of October 17 to 19, 1945 in Stuttgart were intriguingly simple. There was standing room only in Bishop Wurm's church in the bomb-damaged city when the German council, selected at the All-Protestant Church Conference in Treysa, held its initial meeting. Pastor Niemöller preached on his favorite topic: repentance.[43] This was strikingly out of key with the accent on thanksgiving one of his fellow Lutherans, the primate of Denmark, had given by setting aside a Sunday of thanksgiving in his country, claiming that "our hearts are filled with gratitude to God that the bloodiest war of mankind has ended."[44]

According to the autobiography of one of the councilmen, Dr. Hans Lilje, later bishop of predominantly Lutheran city and province of Hannover, there was embracing, rejoicing and smiling as the eleven German Council members greeted the visitors, eight supposedly uninvited members of the PWCC.[45]

Sometime before the Council met, Visser 't Hooft dined in a cafe

with two ardent members of the Confessional Church, Niemöller and Hans Asmussen. They certainly knew in advance of the arrival of the delegation. Niemöller, as has been noted, had already promised Barth "a snappy and clear" written statement of German guilt.

Asmussen needed no persuasion, since, according to Baumgärtel, he had written the PWCC even before the war to suggest such a statement.[46] Instead of taking the Christian approach and indicating to Asmussen that such a statement was un-Christian, Visser 't Hooft had come to enlist Asmussen in support of his own preconceived and prescribed un-Christian statement, since such a statement, confession or declaration would have to be based on "all have sinned." It was Visser 't Hooft's duty to make this clear to Asmussen.

Undoubtedly, the three worked out their strategy to fulfill the PWCC's wishes for a voluntary German statement in Visser 't Hooft's words, "clarifying the last 12 years of German history." Visser 't Hooft also spoke of "a specific repentance." Whether at the café meeting or elsewhere, Visser 't Hooft showed his "trump card." It was this "trump card" that imposed the decisive pressure on those council members who still hesitated. The card, or "soft pressure," was this: the idea was sown that North American churches were having considerable difficulties in raising money for the desperately needy yet unrepentant Germans. Therefore, it a written statement of German repentance could be shown these unwilling congregations, then fundraising endeavors would be substantially easier.[47]

The autobiographies of Lilje and Friedrich Karl Otto Dibelius, two German council members, and the biography of the Englishman churchman George Bell, who was part of the visiting delegation, make clear that this implied, yet real, pressure for a German specific word of repentance, tailored by Germans for Germans, left the German churchman little choice. This is understandable if one puts oneself in their place. The Germans were only eleven (one of the twelve named at Treysa was absent). Theirs was a provisional council, as was the PWCC. Stateless, since there was no German government, they had no civil rights. The PWCC laid on them the burden of either formulating and signing the preconceived "short and snappy" statement of mandatory penance for Hitler, or of bearing the responsibility for additional unnecessary suffering brought about by the unwillingness of congregations in North America to give to the unrepentant Germans. It was late in October. Winter approached as millions of Germans were being uprooted from their ancestral homes in the east, and were flocking into Germany's countryside and bombed-out cities, some of them as much as ninety per cent destroyed. Incidents of German women—girls, mothers and grandmothers—raped to death in the East were commonplace.

Such was the pressure behind the Declaration. It was tantamount to persuasion by force. Even had this not been so, what right did eight lonely delegates have to declare Germans guilty simply for being Germans?

Dibelius wrote that he had personally drafted the Declaration. Here again there are grounds for question, for Niemöller was present when he did so, and Niemöller corrected Dibelius at times. Dibelius speaks of the "Niemöller text."

To end all speculation on this matter one need only look at the words of Dibelius, who was from Berlin and had seen firsthand the "accumulated" suffering in the East. In Dibelius' words, "It was not easy, after experiencing the terrible things we have witnessed in the East, not to say a word about them and *confine ourselves to the guilt of the Germans.*" [Emphasis added].[48] Clearly the juxtaposition of "it was not easy" and "confine ourselves [note the plural] to the guilt of the Germans" unlocks the inner convictions. This was a clerical euphemism for saying it was forced!

The autobiography of Hans Lilje reveals the same perspective. That this was at the time deliberately concealed from at least one delegate, Bishop Bell, is shown by his biography, because there we find that the document "did not reach its final form without some heart-searching, as Dr. Dibelius *subsequently* [emphasis added] revealed in his autobiography." There are strong indications that Bishop Bell was left in the dark regarding the "hidden" pressure behind the Declaration, for how else can one interpret his absence at the pre-Stuttgart meeting of the PWCC delegation on October 15 in Baden-Baden, Germany? How else should one interpret his words to the effect that, at one point in one of the meetings in Stuttgart, ". . . Niemöller handed around copies of a typewritten document which became famous as the Stuttgart Declaration of October 1945"?[49] Clearly this surprised him. If so, then one can even say that Visser 't Hooft and his allies took advantage of the gullibility of an Anglican bishop. This should hardly surprise us, since Visser 't Hooft went so far as to say bluntly that the bishop of Hannover, Marahrens, had to "disappear."

By its willingness to threaten implicitly a continuation of the wartime food blockade, the PWCC, and its guiding lights Barth and Visser 't Hooft, perpetrated an organizational and thological imperialism, displaying an un-Chirstian holy-war mentality. Through the coup at Stuttgart, theological giants such as Althaus, Hirsch, and Elert were suddenly relegated to the backwaters of German Protestant theology, the mainstream of which was now a vehicle for a preconceived, ahistorical condemnation.

A Christian is entitled to wonder as well why the PWCC administered no absolution. After all, if there existed a specific

German guilt, logically, once the German "confession" had been accepted, there should have followed a specific German absolution. In the Church, there is no other purpose for confession than to gain absolution.

The engineers of the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt had taken it upon themselves to be the judges of the entire German people, and had avidly accepted the Declaration of German Guilt. Perhaps, in their failure to grant a collective absolution, they sensed, in their heart of hearts, the absence at Stuttgart of the One they had proclaimed at Barmen to be the sole Head of the Church, Jesus Christ.

VI: Additional Reflections

Who can deny that tying material aid to spiritual aims is contrary to Christianity and that which churchmen represent? In Christianity one is commanded to "feed one's enemies." Even then, after May 1945 the German people were former enemies. Accordingly, such organizations as the Red Cross, and not the Provisional World Council of Churches (PWCC), with its willingness to cooperate unilaterally with Allied political and military policy, had kept this Christian command. Had the Stuttgart affair been really a Christian endeavor, then the PWCC would have avoided any semblance of combining material aid with spiritual fellowship. Even their thinking, in terms of restoration or reconciliation, was not Christian, for Christians always hold the "fellowship of all believers" in the universal confession known as the Apostle's Creed cannot be broken by political and other secular events.

It is unlikely that a Lutheran such as the Swede Folke Bernadotte would have tolerated any connection of material aid to public repentance. For what else could he have meant when he wrote, just before his tragic murder in Jerusalem in 1948, in his *Instead of Arms*, "Judge not lest ye be judged." Bernadotte claimed he could think of no more beautiful words in the Bible than these, which are on the opening page of his book.[50]

Later writers, both ecclesiastical and secular, would claim that the Declaration of Stuttgart had been misunderstood, that it was only a religious declaration. But it is clear that what Barth, Visser 't Hooft, the PWCC, and the victorious Allies desired from Stuttgart were headlines in the religious and secular press declaring that German churchmen had "repented." These would bolster the Allied propaganda that the Second World War had indeed been a "holy war." Furthermore, a German proclamation of guilt supplied justification for Allied policies: for the withholding from the Germans of the rights proclaimed in the "Atlantic Charter," for the unconditional surrender, for the harsh provisions of the

Morgenthau Plan, for the denazification tribunals, for the continued imprisonment of millions of German "prisoners of war," for the expulsions, for the Nuremberg trials, and all the other punitive measures of the victors.

The eleven signatures on the Declaration of Stuttgart would serve the PWCC in its plans for dominating the German Protestants. The eleven names would show the Germans who, in the PWCC's terms, were the preferred "fellows" in the "fellowship of believers." Here were modern, up-to-date disciples, the Bonifaces to re-Christianize a Hitlerized, paganized Germany, here were the true churchmen who had not bent their knees to the latterday Baal! For Lutherans, the Barmen Confession of 1934 was now, through the mandate of Barth, Visser 't Hooft, and Niemöller, the guide by which the traditional Lutheran confessional writings were to be interpreted.

The ecclesiasticism manifested at Stuttgart transformed the German Protestant Church from an indivisible, invisible (in the sense that spiritually it defies a clear-cut, organizational identity) object of faith into a church clearly visible to humans. As one observer put it, "the marks of the church are no longer faithfulness to the Word and Sacraments, but now include opposition to National Socialism as practiced by Hitler, especially that associated with his programs toward the Jews.[51] While alive, Hitler had awesome power, but now the dead Hitler could even determine who belonged to the Christian Church. Pontius Pilate has been eternalized in the Apostle's Creed, while the Austrian Hitler, the "modern Pharoah" had been eternalized, by implication, in the Barmen Confession of 1934, now obligatory for ordination in some German churches.[52]

The medieval Englishmen Wycliffe spoke of the "poor church" as the genuine Christian Church. Strikingly, the new German Evangelists after World War II have hardly walked in poverty. The new Gospel brought with it high administrative positions in the German Protestant churches, the Lutheran World Federation, and the World Council of Churches, with good salaries and pensions paid for by church taxation in West Germany. All this has kept these churchmen theocratically independent from the wishes of the German people in the *Volkskirche*. For the heirs to the signers of the Declaration of Stuttgart, there are good and profitable reasons for the continued acceptance of what President Reagan said was "imposed" and "unnecessary" German guilt. Mindful of this, German Protestant church leaders renew the Stuttgart Declaration through ceaseless commemorations and anniversaries.

President Reagan called the German guilt "unnecessary." If a collective German guilt is unnecessary today, then it was unnecessary in 1945, a year in which Germany was battered to its knees and then dismembered by an overwhelming coalition of forces which included the world's mightiest and most oppressive empires.

Forgotten by the victors, and those Germans who rejoice in self-flagellation, is the fact that under Hitler, Germany was attempting chiefly to free itself from the shackles of the onerous peace of Versailles, another imposition brought about through a hunger blockade, and to combat the twin evils of economic depression and Communist chaos.

The West German Revisionist historian Helmut Diwald rightfully termed the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt "most demeaning."[53] Its ramifications for Revisionists have been and still are of considerable importance. The Stuttgart Declaration and other such pronouncements have served to create an uncritical religious and academic climate, thereby rendering inaccessible the most important source of reconciliation, the relativizing and humanizing perspective of impartial historical study.

Fortunately, the endeavors of the world-wide Revisionist movement, characterized by sound research and an unbiased outlook, are redressing the wrongs of the postwar era. Let the Revisionists' work serve as a touchstone to Establishment historians, both ecclesiatical and secular. The Revisionists, through their writings, are working hard to restore a real sense of fellowship, one dependent neither on false accusations nor on imposed guilt, a fellowship in which Christians and non-Christians alike can be joined by a concern for justice and for truth.

Notes

1. ". . . they have a feeling and a guilt feeling that's been imposed upon them. And I just think it's unnecessary." The president's words, spoken at a press conference on March 21, 1985, are quoted in *Bitburg and Beyond*, edited by Ilya Levkov (Shapolsky, New York, 1987).
2. Walter Bodenstein, *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*, translation of *Ist Nur der Besiegte Schuldig?*, Herbig, 1983. The English was printed in the *Christian News*, New Haven, MO, in four parts in September 1985. The English is an authorized translation, based on additional discussions with Dr. Bodenstein, who reads English. Thus, the English is not exactly as the German.
3. In 1937 Niemöller was arrested and imprisoned for eight months at Moabit Prison in Berlin. The following year he was tried and found guilty of subversive acts against the state, and was fined two thousand marks and sentenced to seven months fortress arrest. Following his release he was rearrested and spent the years 1939 to 1945 at Sachsenhausen and Dachau. Shortly after his liberation from Dachau, he caused some consternation when he said, during an interview in Naples on June 5, 1945: "I was not ill-treated. I saw isolated acts of brutality, but I took them to be isolated." [Editor's note.]
4. *The Lutheran Encyclopedia*, edited by J.B. Bodensieck, Augsburg, 1965, p. 2019.

5. David Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden*, Viking, 1978.
6. Ronald C.D. Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1967, p. 266.

   Compare also Jan-Albert Goris, *Belgium in Bondage*, L.B. Fischer, 1943, p. 217: "The Belgian government [in exile in London] has been trying for more than three years to obtain the organization of the Allies to send at least milk and vitamins to Belgium, without success. Only some medical supplies were sent." That medical supplies were actually sent shows that sending them was possible.
7. The *Congressional Record* account is reproduced in my article in the *Christian News*, New Haven, MO, entitled "FDR Tragically Spurned His Humanitarian Impulse," in the April 20, 1987 issue.
8. Friedrich Baumgärtel, *Wider die Kirchenkampflegenden* [Against Legends of the Church Struggle of the Hitler period], Freimund Verlag, Neuendettelsau, West Germany. Baumgärtel was a professor in 1933. This booklet should be made available to English readers. On p. 3 he writes: "It is exactly the year 1933 which is washed away by many, who did not conscientiously experience it . . . it is described as though there were clear-cut issues, which there simply weren't."
9. Bodenstein, *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*
10. The expression "after a virtual two year civil war" is from the college textbook, *New Governments in Europe*, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1935, p. 155.
11. Stewart Herman, Jr., *The Rebirth of the German Church*, with an introduction by Martin Niemöller, S.C.M. Press, London, 1946.
12. Paul Althaus, *Die Christliche Wahrheit* [The Christian Truth], C. Bertelsman, Gütersloh, 1952, p. 227-8.
13. Althaus, *Die Christliche Wahrheit*, p. 60.
14. Regarding his arrest in 1937, Niemöller admitted to an American chaplain in 1945, "My underground activities were discovered and I was arrested and sent to the concentration camp." *Lutheran Standard*, Wartburg Press, Sept. 26, 1946.
15. Compare Diether Goetz Lichdi, *Mennoniten im Dritten Reich* [Mennonites in the Third Reich], Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1977 (p. 85), in which it is claimed that between 1937-45, 18 Protestant pastors became martyrs. This includes Dietrich Bonhöffer, who actually plotted against the government, something Niemöller claimed he would not have done personally, although he respected Bonhöffer for his actions. Compare Dietmar Schmidt, *Martin Niemöller*, Doubleday, 1959, p. 176.

   Lichdi (p. 85) claimed that after 1935, the regime lost interest in the German Protestant Church and strangled it through financial and administrative means. This seems contradictory. How can one claim the government lost interest and then speak of strangulation? In general, I agree with the Scot A.P. Laurie, *The Case for Germany*, Intern. Verlag, Berlin, 1939 (p. 110): "The Government has not the remotest desire or intention to interfere with the religious teaching and faith of the Church." Without mentioning Niemöller, he wrote: "A

section [of the Church] refuses to administer the simple regulations of the government and attacks it violently from the pulpit and obtains much satisfaction from a quite unnecssary martyrdom when fined or sent to a concentration camp."

David Irving in his *Warpath*, Viking Press, 1978 (pp. 220-1), gives Hitler's assessment. Hitler said to Himmler in January 1939, ". . . that the pastor's [Niemöller's] whole opposition now emanated only from his not getting the promotion that he had hoped for after the Nazis came to power. After that he began agitating against the state."

Compare Philip Gibbs, *Across the Frontier*, Doubleday, 1938 (p. 194). Gibbs says that in 1938 there were 12 Protestant pastors still in prison and not one priest, although he does claim that at one time there were hundreds. Gibbs does not give the source for this information.

On page 209, Gibbs writes: "Let us at least keep our sense of proportion in judgements. The very people who are stirred to passionate anger because a few Protestant pastors are arrested and imprisoned in Germany utterly ignore the wholesale murders of priests and the anti-God campaign in Russia. Their hearts bleed with compassion for Pastor Niemöller, but are curiously unmoved by the slaughter of thousands of priests in Spain and the outrages against nuns. They are shocked at the treatment of Jews in Germany but they are coldly indifferent to the death and starvation of more than two million peasants in the Ukraine because they dared to resist the orders of Stalin and his officers. Is there not here in this continued nagging at Germany by the Left Wing critics a ghastly hypocrisy because they turn a blind eye to the outrageous crimes committed by those with whom they are in political sympathy?"

16. Herman, *The Rebirth of the New German Church*, pp. 20, 32; Gibbs, *Across the Border*, p. 199.

17. *Die Lutherischen Kirchen und die Bekenntnissynode von Barmen*, [The Lutheran Churches and the Confessional Synod of Barmen], Vandenhöck and Ruprecht, 1984. This book is a collection of papers presented at a conference commemorating Barmen 1934, and is dedicated to Martin Niemöller. See especially pp. 98 ff.

18. Compare *Daily Press*, London, March 24, 1933, with its front page headlines, "Judea Declares War on Germany," and subtitles, "Boycott of German Goods," and "Mass Demonstrations."

    Compare also: Stephen Wise, *Challenging Years: The Autobiography of Stephen Wise*, C.P. Putnam, 1949 (p. 246): "On March 27 [1933] the American Jewish Congress mobilized the first broad resistance movement to Hitlerism at a mass meeting held in Madison Square Garden, New York." The German boycott, in fact, defused a very dangerous potential of a national pogrom in Germany, which, as the rabbi pointed out, never materialized. Hitler's orders were that any form of violence against a Jew would mean an automatic removal from the National Socialist party. The main purpose of the German boycott was to mark Jewish stores, in order to make Germans aware of the extent of Jewish holdings.

19. Armin Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene* [Church Struggle and Oecumene], 1939-45, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1973, p. 188. Compare also

W.W. Van Kirk, *Religion and the World of Tomorrow*, Willet Clark & Co. 1941 (p. 140): "American Christians are divided with respect to the war. On one thing they, however, are agreed. This is not a 'holy war.' This is not a war in which the wrong is all on one side and all the right on the other side."

The relationship between crusaders and criminals is brought out in a famous statment of R.H. Tawney: "Either war is a crusade, or it is a crime. There is no halfway house." This seems to explain the determination of some Americans to stage dramatic postwar "war crimes" trials. The words "war crimes" already puts this on the crusading wavelength.

20. *Lutheran Partners* (official Lutheran Church magazine), "A Forgotten Anniversary: Stuttgart," May/June, 1985 issue, Philadelphia. Article by Stewart W. Herman, Jr.
21. Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, p. 263. This transition to a national accumulation of guilt is revealing. When the crusading spirit predominates, then all the enemy has done is tagged as criminal.
22. Jasper, *George Bell*, p. 300.
23. Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, p. 20. The tenor at Treysa is dramatically revealed in a speech made by Niemöller, found in Baumgärtel's *Wider die Kirchenkampflegenden*, p. 43. "We have rid ourselves of quite a few (*viele*) of the church leaders, who are not suitable to be leaders of the Church . . . If we were to retain them, we would thereby make the Church from the beginning once again unworthy of belief and bring about a new guilt." This is from a Niemöller who on October 13, 1933, in the name of 2,500 pastors, sent a telegram to Hitler, pledging faithfully to follow him (*Gefolgschaft*) and promising him intercessory prayers. On p. 4, Baumgärtel writes about Niemöller's volunteering in 1939 for the German armed forces (some even claim the SS). Bodenstein, in writing about some of this, remarks: "What a short memory Niemöller had."
24. Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, p. 269. At Treysa some termed Niemöller "the dictator."
25. Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, pp. 20 ff.
26. Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, pp. 275 ff.
27. W.W. Van Kirk, *A Christian Global Strategy*, Willet, Clark & Co., 1945, p. 133. Compare his *Religion and the World Today*, 1941. Van Kirk wrote: "Who killed the German democracy? Not Hitler. Not Göring. Not Goebbels. Not Himmler. Not the Nazi Party. The statesmen and the people of the victor's powers killed the German democracy, and their guilt will be recorded in the histories of those terrible years")p. 166). "Along with other nations the U.S. must accept the full responsibility for Hitler" (p. 116). "Certain it is that the Germans were never forgiven in 1918."

    Generally speaking, most Germans would be amazed at the exonerating material found in publications of this period. The difference was that these people had experienced the post World War I period.
28. Jasper, *George Bell*, p. 292.

29. *The Lutheran Standard*, Oct. 13, 1945, p. 12.
30. Richard W. Solberg, *As Between Brothers*, Augsburg, 1957.
31. *The Lutheran Standard*, August 25, 1945.
32. Bodenstein, *Is Only the Victor Guilty?* [Hooft and Barth were active in lending their prestige to and disseminating the fabrications of Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler, among others, regarding gassing of Jews at Auschwitz. According to Rudolph L. Braham: "The credence of the material (the so-called "Auschwitz Protocols"—ed.) was enhanced through its distribution under a cover later dated July 4, 1944, over the signatures of Professor D. Karl Barth of Basel, Professor D. Emil Brunner of Zurich, Dr. W.A. Visser 't Hooft of Geneva, and Pastor Vogt of Zurich." (*The Holocaust as Historical Experience*, edited by Yehuda Bauer and Nathan Rotenstreich, Holmes and Meier, New York, 1981, p. 120)—Editor's note]
33. Schmidt, *Martin Niemöller*, p. 144.
34. David Irving's *Der Morgenthau Plan*, 1944/45, Facsimile-Verlag Wieland Soyka, Bremen, 1986, is a valuable historical contribution, which includes many copies of official documents in English. On p. 271, Morgenthau writes: "The German people must bear the consequences of their acts."
35. Fritz Wartenweil, *Max Huber*, Rotapfel Verlag, Zurich, 1953, pp. 242 ff. See also Marcel Junod, *Warriors Without Weapons*, MacMillan, 1951, p. 1.
36. International Committee of the Red Cross, *The Work of the ICRC for Civilian Detainees in the German Concentration Camps (1939-1945)*, Geneva, 1975, p. 24.
37. Solberg, *As Between Brothers*, p. 57.
38. Sumner Welles, *Where Are We Heading?*, Harper, 1946, p. 85.
39. *The Lutheran Standard*, August 4, 1945, p. 15.
40. Adolf Keller, *Christian Europe Today*, Harper, p. 192.
41. Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, p. 236; *The Lutheran Standard*, Oct. 13, 1945.
42. *The Lutheran Standard*, August 25, 1945.
43. Schmidt, *Martin Niemöller*, p. 37.
44. *The Lutheran Standard*, Sept. 15, 1945.
45. Bodenstein, *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*
46. Besides Bodenstein, Baumgärtel also mentions this cafe meeting in a footnote to *Wider die Kirchenkampflegenden* (page 75). He also mentions that it seems Asmussen mentioned such a German statement before the end of the war, supposedly in a letter to the ecumenical leaders. This does not contradict the thesis that the declaration was imposed, since an important element in this is the threat to use material aid as the persuader. Asmussen could only make a confession for himself and not for others. If the ecumenical leaders responded to his letter, they had a Christian obligation to point out that the blame is shared and not unilateral. Later Asmussen tried to defend the indefensible by speaking of the Protestant priesthood making the confession for the people, a theological monstrosity.

47. Bodenstein, *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*
48. Jasper, *George Bell*, p. 295.
49. Jasper, *George Bell*, p. 294.
50. Folke Bernadotte, *Instead of Arms*, Hodder and Stroughton, 1949, p. 1.
51. In this connection there is a remarkable claim made by A.P. Laurie, *The Case for Germany* (p. 110): "The hatred of the Jews on the continent is not confined to Germany. The anti-Jewish pogroms that have taken place in Poland were so dreadful that the Polish government did not allow any news of them to leave the country, and there can be no doubt that Hitler, by bringing the whole matter under law and regulation, saved the Jews from massacre."
52. The term "modern Pharoah" is found in Gibbs, *Across the Frontier.*
53. Quoted in Bodenstein, *Is Only the Victor Guilty?*

An Update on the Dead Sea Scrolls

MARTIN A. LARSON

(Paper Presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference)

I was reared in a highly fundamentalist religious denomination; and although I had various early doubts concerning its dogmas and practices and rejected them when I was about twenty years old, I never lost an intense interest in religion as a social phenomenon or in its influence upon mankind. I remember one philosopher who said that men create their gods in their own image; and certain it is that human beings in almost all times have believed in a great variety of supernatural beings; and one scholar declared that the greatest miracle of all is the capacity of mankind to believe in things for which there is no actual evidence.

When I was doing my research for the Ph.D. degree at the University of Michigan, I became engrossed in Milton, especially his religious concepts; and I discovered that he was far from orthodox in these as well as in his political convictions. In fact, I found that he had embraced various heresies for which, under Puritan law, he could have been sent to prison or even executed. And this was especially true because he rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, which is a central dogma in both the Catholic Church and in the Protestant Reformation.

This set me off on a search for the sources of his beliefs; and I found that Michael Servetus, burned at the stake by Calvin in 1553, may have been the heretic who inspired Milton to reject this basic dogma.

However, when I was no longer a teacher but had to make my living in the business world, I had no time for research; and had to put this off until 1950, when I had both leisure and financial independence; then I plunged into new research in the religious area.

I soon conceived an intense interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which

had been found in 1947; and together with this, I sought to discover the ultimate as well as the immediate sources of the Christian gospel, as set forth in the New Testament. I therefore began research which involved the reading and examination of hundreds of esoteric volumes and the editing of a large book, entitled *The Religion of the Occident*, published in 1959, which has since been reprinted at least five times and is now entitled *The Story of Christian Origins*.

As my interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls intensified, I prepared another volume dealing largely with this subject and entitled *The Essene-Christian Faith*.

A few years ago, I gave a talk at IHR's Third International Revisionist Historical Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls, in which I emphasized two points:

1. that there is a definite relationship between the Essene cult and the teachings found in the New Testament gospels, especially that of Luke; and
2. that both the Jewish authorities and the present Christian denominations seem determined to negate and deny any such relationship, and if possible, to prevent the publication of the Scrolls.

In 1947, two Bedouins stumbled into a cave near the Dead Sea and found there several scrolls, which were sold to some people in New York and published without delay. These furnished very strong evidence to support the belief that Jesus may himself have been an Essene before he appeared at the Jordan to be baptized by John, and that the New Testament Gospels contain many ideas and teachings very similar to those of the Essenes. After this first discovery, several well-financed expeditions were sent into the area to explore any other caves that might be found; several caves were discovered, containing rich treasures of Essene material; and Millar Burrows, the leading scholar in the field, stated that original Essene scriptures sufficient to fill two large volumes had been recovered.

It is indeed interesting to note that more than a hundred years before the discovery of the Scrolls, a famous English author, Thomas De Quincey, had written a long essay called "The Essenes," in which he maintained that there never had been such a separate community, but that the people described by Josephus, Philo Judaeus, and Pliny were simply Christians gone underground as a result of persecution. Even on the basis of the slight evidence available in 1830, this renowned scholar arrived at this momentous conclusion.

I wish to point out the fact that having any scrolls at all was simply an accident of history. The Bedouins who happened upon them had no interest in them except to obtain some money; and those who bought them had the same objective. As a result, these first Scrolls saw the light without any delay whatever.

Then, however, a completely different process began. The expeditions undertaken by religious groups, which recovered much additional treasure, placed this material in a Jordanian museum in Jerusalem. There it remained until 1967, when the Jewish government seized the area, the museum, and the Scrolls in the war which occurred that year. Since then, virtually no one has been permitted access to any Essene material, although the Isaiah Scroll, found in one of the caves, has long been on public display.

We should note that even while the museum was under Jordanian control, strict secrecy was maintained. I know that, for when I wrote the curator asking permission to photograph certain pieces of parchment from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the reply was that should I journey there *I would not be allowed even to look at them!*

Nearly forty years have now elapsed since great quantities of original Essene material were found, much of which would undoubtedly have a definite bearing on the origins of Christianity. Many years ago, eight scholars were appointed to study, collate, arrange, publish, and translate the Scrolls. However, all of them, except one, had religious commitments or obligations; only John Marco Allegro was free of such limitations; he was assigned the difficult task of unraveling the Copper Treasure Scroll, which he did promptly and expertly; he also translated and published a few fragments from the Scrolls which are most interesting. The others, of whom four were Roman Catholics and three Protestants, simply malingered on the job; and to this day, while the Scrolls may be disintegrating with age and exposure, virtually nothing of the task imposed upon these men has been accomplished.

I consider this failure perhaps the greatest and most contemptible cover-up that has ever occurred in the religious field. And we should note that while those in control see to it that the Scrolls are not published, they deny vehemently that there is any attempt to delay or prevent their publication.

At this point, I want to say a few words about the importance of religion. In my experience, I found that bigots in this area are more intolerant of others and more certain that they and they alone possess the truth—even though they actually *know* nothing—than is the case in any other realm of belief. There is nothing which creates more antagonism than an opinion or a fact which is at variance with their persuasions. For this reason, I try to avoid religious controversy. I usually withhold my personal opinions or beliefs and try to limit any discussion, if any, to unquestionable facts—such as those pertaining to the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Since it is a fact that one of the greatest cover-ups in history relates to the suppression of these documents, it is certainly pertinent to ask why this has occurred. What powerful intersts wish to suppress

their contents? As far as I am concerned, the answer is not far to seek; both the Israelis and the Christian denominations wish to ignore the content of the Scrolls and see them into oblivion for reasons which seem obvious enough to me.

And we should note that religion is perhaps the most powerful influence that exists on earth. Although there are several major faiths and although Christianity itself is divided into hundreds of sects and denominations, one of them alone, the Roman Catholic Church, is considered by some scholars as powerful an economic and political force in the Western world as either the United States or the Soviet Union. Although all Christian divisions agree on certain matters, they differ sharply on various others.

Why, then, do Christian organizations desire the oblivion of the Scrolls? The reason is that they have always held that their creed was a single, unique, miraculous, and supreme revelation without predecessor or outside contributor. But the fact is that nothing could be further from the truth; Christianity is a composite of doctrines, teachings, and ideologies which have forerunners in previous religions, with a proximate source in the Essene cult. If these facts were widely known, the authority of the Church or the churches would be drastically reduced. For this reason the reigning churches are determined to show that there is little or no similarity between Essenism and original Christianity. Or they prefer simply to ignore the whole thing as if it did not exist. It would be virtually impossible to do this if all the Scrolls were published.

We know also from the Scrolls as well as from many passages in the New Testament that both the Essenes and Jesus were bitterly opposed to the Jewish authorities, especially the religious. There can be little doubt that the Scrolls now crumbling into dust include many passages in which the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Scribes are excoriated in the most bitter terms and that the tyranny exercised by them over the dissident Essenes is described in full detail. We know that about 104 B.C. the Essenes became a secret cult, went underground as it were, and forbade its members to discuss any of its beliefs with outsiders. We know also that about 70 B.C. the Teacher of Righteousness, the Essene leader, appeared in the temple in Jerusalem, where he denounced the authorities, and that, as a result, he was executed, probably by crucifixion; and that his followers therafter declared that he had risen from the grave on the third day, ascended to heaven, and would send a great messiah before the end of the generation to conduct the Last Judgement and inaugurate the Kingdom of the Saints on earth.

In addition, I think we would be correct in concluding or assuming that the Jews prefer not to believe that Christianity sprang from an obscure and secret cult existing practically underground among their own people.

I can assure you that I am not the only one who believes that there is a general conspiracy to conceal the content of the remaining Scrolls and, if possible, to hasten their destruction. One of these is the same John Allegro, mentioned earlier, who lost his position as a professor in an English university because of what he said, and who was denied all future access to the Scrolls after he declared that a predecessor of Jesus may also have been crucified about a century before. In an article entitled "The Scandal of the Unpublished Scrolls," published on May 18, 1987, in *The Daily Telegraph* of London, England, he states that the Scrolls:

> Pose questions too hot for the scholars' liking. He considers the delays in publication pathetic and inexcusable . . . for years, his colleagues have been sitting on the material, which is not only of outstanding importance, but also quite the most religiously sensitive.

Mr. Allegro has no doubt that the evidence from the Scrolls undermines the uniqueness of Christianity as a sect. "In fact," he declares, "we know all about the origins of Christianity"; however,

> . . . these documents lift the curtain. But the members of the international team are all ecclesiastically connected in some way and I think thay are quite glad to sit on the stuff . . . that has been the trouble with the Scrolls; they impinge so much on Judaism and on Christianity . . . they became a political football when the Israelis marched in and seized Jerusalem from the Jordanians in the War of 1967.

"They are," he continues,

> . . . now in Israeli custody and are still, so far as I am aware, locked up in cabinets in the basements of the museum in Jerusalem, where one bomb could destroy them at any time.

Some thirty years ago, it was made clear that all the members of the team appointed to work on the Scrolls would soon make the documents assigned to them available for publication in learned journals and by the Oxford University Press; however, Allegro was the only member of the team who fulfilled this duty.

The only solution for the problem, he declares, "is the formation at once of an international, interdenominational and ecumenical committee to complete the study and decide how best to make the contents of the Scrolls available to the public." He might, I think, have added that such a committee should consist largely of dedicated scholars who are without specific commitments or obligations to religious organizations.

Will this happen? I very much doubt it. I am afraid that the cover-up will continue until the Scrolls have withered into dust—forever lost. The seekers for truth will probably have to be satisfied with what we already have; but even that, I assure you, is ample to establish the fact that there is a close relationship between the Essene cult and original Christianity.

Reviews

SHOAH. Directed by Claude Lanzmann. Produced by Les Films Aleph, Historia Films with the French Ministry of Culture. Cinematographers: Dominique Chapuls, Jimmy Glasberg, William Lubchansky. Editors: Ziva Postec, Anna Ruiz. Running time: Part I, 4 hours, 33 minutes. Part II, 4 hours, 50 minutes.

Reviewed by Robert Faurisson

Shoah is a Hebrew word which means catastrophe. It has become a synonym for extermination, or genocide, or Holocaust. It serves as the title of a seemingly endless film by Claude Lanzmann. Marek Edelman, a leader of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising, described the film as "boring," "not very interesting," and "a failure" (*Le Monde*, November 2, 1985, p. 3). In spite of a general mobilization by the media on its behalf, the French, "including the French Jewish community as a whole," haven't cared very much for this imposition. In desperation, the secretary general for the French Judaism Foundation Prize, which was awarded to *Shoah*, declared: "I will end with an exhortation, a plea. Go to see this film, ask those around you to go see it." (*Hamore*, June, 1986, p. 37). [French President] Francois Mitterrand and Pope John Paul II approved of the film, as have many other prominent world figures. But nothing has worked. For a long time the television networks resisted, but now they are giving in. The gigantic turkey will be shown. Length: almost nine and a half hours.

Lanzmann wants to convince us that there were homicidal gas chambers and that the Jews really were exterminated. But what this film shows above all is that there are neither proof nor witnesses and that, as the Revisionists demonstrate, those alleged gas chambers and the extermination story are one and the same myth. Anyway, were it a question of truth, the "Exterminationists" would be eager to prove it to us with a special broadcast showing documents on all the television networks one fine evening in prime time, and not with *Shoah*.

The truth is that Hitler treated the Jews as his declared enemies, that he wanted to drive them out of Europe, and that he put many of them in labor and concentration camps. Some of the camps had crematoria for burning bodies. None of them had a homicidal gas chamber. The existence of the alleged gas slaughterhouses is

impossible for physical, chemical, topographical, architectural, and documentary reasons. The fate of the Jews was atrocious, but not unusually so. Consider the fate of the German children killed or wounded by phosphorous bombs or of those slaughtered at the time of their "transfer" from East to West between 1945 and 1947!

No Order, No Plan, No Budget

Lanzmann knew very well the weakness of the Exterminationist thesis and the strength of Revisionist arguments. Supposedly, there was a gigantic extermination program for which no one can find any trace of an order, a plan or a budget! And the weapon allegedly used to carry out the crime has simply disappeared! Even *Le Nouvel-Observateur* (26 April 1983, p. 33) ended up repeating for the general public the acknowledgement by specialists: "There is no photograph of a gas chamber." This means that the "gas chambers" which are still shown to tourists at Struthof (Alsace), Mauthausen, Hartheim, Dachau, Majdanek and Auschwitz are really only phony mock-ups. Lanzmann participated in the famous colloquium held at the Sorbonne (29 June to 2 July 1982) at which its two organizers, Raymond Aron and Francois Furet, were suddenly confronted with that cruel truth. The awareness that he lacked any proof or documentation reportedly strengthened Lanzmann's determination to respond to the Revisionists with an emotional film and some montages of "testimonies."

Making a Film Out of Nothing

Lanzmann filmed railway tracks, stones and countrysides *ad nauseam*. He accompanies these striking images with a clumsily lyrical commentary and with camera movements intended to "evoke" deportations and gassings. He himself commented in his maudlin way: "As a result of our filming the stones at Treblinka from all angles, they have finally spoken" (*Libération*, 25 April 1985, p. 22). He asserted, without proof, that the Nazis erased the traces of their gigantic crime. He declares: "It was necessary to make this film from nothing, without archival documents, to invent everything." (*Le Matin de Paris*, 29 April 1985, p. 12). Or again: "It is therefore a case of making a film with traces of traces of traces . . . With nothing one comes back to nothing." (*L'Express*, 10 May 1985, p. 40). His loyal followers admire him most of all for that. "Not a single archival image," exclaims J.F. Held (*L'Evénement du jeudi*, 2 May 1985, p. 80). "This film is a fantastic repetition" (*L'Autre Journal*, May 1985, p. 48); "The strength of this film is not in showing what took place—in fact it refrains from doing that—but in showing the possibility of what took place" (André Glucksmann, *Le Droit de vivre* [The Right to Live], February-March 1986, p. 21).

The director worked to make the filmgoer believe what he wanted

him to believe. Imaginations asked only to be put to work, and the result exceeded all expectations. Proud of his art of persuasion, Lanzmann told America's leading newspaper: "There was one man who wrote to me after seeing the film saying it was the first time he had heard the cry of an infant inside the gas chamber. It was perhaps because his imagination had been put to work." (*New York Times*, 20 October 1985, Sect. 2, p. H-1). In the main camp at Auschwitz, Lanzmann filmed the crematory where the tourists are shown, on the one hand, the crematory room and, on the other hand, an adjacent room called a gas chamber (in reality, a room for bodies awaiting cremation). But Lanzmann's camera remains in the first room; it does its pirouettes and its circlings so well that the sudden, ever-so-brief appearance of the so-called gas chamber, almost pitch dark, can only be noticed by a specialist. The unprepared viewer might believe that Lanzmann has clearly shown him a gas chamber. This is pure sleight of hand. Lanzmann can prove equally well that he did or did not show the "real" gas chamber. In a sense he did both.

Shoah begins with a lie of omission. In the list of those who made the film possible, especially financially, Lanzmann carefully avoids indicating his primary source of funding: the State of Israel. Menachem Begin himself began by arranging for $850,000 for what he called a "project in the national Jewish interest." (*The Jewish Journal*, New York, 27 June 1986, p. 3, and the *Jewish Telegraph Agency*, June 20, 1986).

Lanzmann used physical and verbal tricks of all kinds to fool some of the people interviewed as well as the viewers of the film. In order to obtain German "witnesses," he invented a non-existent institute he called the "Centre de recherches et d'études pour l'histoire contemporaine." He also forged the letterhead of the "Académie de Paris" on his own stationery (Mrs. Ahrweiler, the Jewish chancellor of the Académie, is a friend of Lanzmann's). Lanzmann procured false identity papers, taking the name Claude-Marie Sorel and apropriating the title of "Doctor in History." He promised and he gave 3,000 deutschmarks to each of his German "witnesses," further assuring each before his interview that it would be sealed for thirty years ("Ce que je n'ai pas dit dans *Shoah*," *VSD*, intrview by Jean-Pierre Chabrol, July 9, 1987, especially p. 11). Thus, these Germans "testified" for money.

Lanzmann's number one "witness" is barber Abraham Bomba. In a scene "crying out with truth" we see Bomba working in his shop, where he imitates on a customer's head the gestures that he supposedly used while cutting the hair of the victims "in the gas chamber at Treblinka." Here again there is a bit of trickery. Bomba had been a barber in New York; he moved to Israel to retire, and there Lanzmann rented a shop and orchestrated the entire scene in cooperation with Bomba (Jean-Charles Szurek, *L'Autre Groupe*, 10,

1986, p. 65; *Times* (London), 2 March 1986; *L'Autre Journal*, May 1985, p. 47).

A Barber Shop in the Gas Chamber

Let's deal in some detail with the "witnesses" in *Shoah*. We are not talking about witnesses in the legal sense of the term. None of the "witnesses" was verified and examined. No "witness" was cross-examined. No "testimony" seems to have been reproduced in its complete form, and Lanzmann presented only nine and a half hours of the 350 hours of film that he shot. The "testimonies" are, furthermore, systematically cut and are given only in fragments, on the basis of images carefully chosen to condition the viewer.

The testimony that is dearest to the promoters of *Shoah* is that of Abraham Bomba. Unfortunately, it teems with physical impossibilities and serious vagueness. Bomba wants us to believe that at Treblinka he worked in a room which was both a barber shop and a gas chamber! The room measured four meters by four meters. He said that narrow space contained 16 or 17 barbers and some benches; approximately 60 or 70 naked women entered along with an unknown number of children; it took about 8 minutes for that entire group to have its hair cut; no one left the room; then 70 or 80 more women entered, again with an unknown number of children; the hair cutting for that whole group lasted about 10 minutes. Therefore, those present by then numbered about 146 or 147 people, not counting the children, and other space was occupied by the benches—all this in a space of 16 square meters! This is all pure nonsense.

The barbers involved in this process worked non-stop. They sometimes left the room, but only for five minutes, which was just the amount of time needed to gas the victims, remove the bodies and clean up the room: everything "was clean" then. They do not tell us what gas was used or how it was introduced into the room. And how did they go about getting rid of the gas after the operation was completed? Lanzmann does not ask questions like that. The Germans would have needed a gas that acted with lightning speed, that would not stick to surfaces and would not remain on and in the bodies to be removed.

Bomba is a mythomaniac who was very likely inspired by page 212 of *Treblinka* by J.F. Steiner (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), a book denounced even by Pierre Vidal-Naquet as an incredible fabrication (*Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent*, Maspero, 1981, p. 212), which was at least in part written by the novelist Gilles Perrault (*Le Journal du dimanche*, 30 March 1986, p. 5).

"Witness" Rudolf Vrba was an originator of the Auschwitz myth. He had been imprisoned at Birkenau in the best of conditions. (For example, he had a room of his own.) He recounted so much

nonsense about Auschwitz in April 1944 that at the Zündel trial in Toronto in January 1985 he suffered a humiliating experience. The prosecutor who had called for his testimony against a Revisionist suddenly refrained from questioning him any further, since it had become quite evident that Vrba was a shameless liar. He completely invented facts and figures. In particular, he said that he had personally counted 150,000 Jews from France who had been *gassed* during a period of 24 months at Birkenau. However, Serge Klarsfeld, the Nazi-hunter, has shown that during the entire war period the Germans *deported* no more than about 75,721 Jews from France to all of the camps. Asked to explain about an alleged visit by Himmler to Auschwitz for the inauguration of new "gas chambers," Vrba, whom his ghost writer, Alan Bestic, presented as taking "immense trouble over every detail" with a "meticulous, almost fanatical respect for accuracy" (*I Cannot Forgive*, by Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestic, Bantam Books of Canada, 1964, p. 2), was obliged to confess that he had availed himself of what he called "poetic license."

A Witness Saved by Some Naked Young Women

"Witness" Filip Müller is much the same. He is the author of *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979; the French edition has a preface by Claude Lanzmann). This sickening bestseller is the result of the work of a German ghostwriter, Helmut Freitag, who did not shrink from engaging in plagiarism. (See Carlo Mattogno, "Filip Müller's Plagiarism," reprinted in *Auschwitz: un caso di plagio*, Edizioni la Sfinge, Parma, 1986. Müller plagiarized from *Doctor at Auschwitz*, another bestseller, supposedly written by Miklos Nyiszli).

In the film Müller says that up to 3,000 people could be gassed at the same time in the large gas chamber at Birkenau, and that at the moment of the gassing "nearly everyone rushed toward the door" and, finally, that "where the Zyklon had been thrown in it was empty." He avoids saying that the room in question (which was, in fact, a *Leichenkeller* [corpse cellar]) was at most 210 square meters in size, which would have prevented any movement inside. He said that it took only three or four hours for the crowd of people to enter the disrobing room (with 3,000 coat hooks!?), undress, go into the gas chamber, be gassed there, be transported into the crematory room, and there be cremated and reduced to ashes. He does not reveal that there were only 15 ovens. If, let us suppose, it took one and a half hours to burn one corpse completely, it would have taken 12 days and 12 nights of uninterrupted operation to do what he described. And there were several groups of victims to be gassed and burned each and every day. In the film, Müller describes how victims sang the Czech national hymn and the Jewish hymn, the "Hatikva." He is inspired here by an "eyewitness account" according

to which the victims sang the *Polish* national hymn and the "Hatikva" until the two songs blended into . . . the "Internationale" (a narrative reprinted by Ber Mark, *Des voix dans la nuit* [Voices in the Night], preface by Elie Wiesel, Plon, 1982, p. 247).

In the book (p. 113-114) but not in the film, Müller recounts how, after deciding to die in the gas chamber, he was dissuaded by a group of naked young women who forcibly dragged and pushed him out so they could die all alone: he would serve as a witness. On pages 46-47 he describes how Nazi doctors

> felt the thighs and calves of men and women who were still alive and selected what they called the best pieces before the victims were executed. After their execution . . . the doctors proceeded to cut pieces of still warm flesh from thighs and calves and threw them into waiting receptacles. The muscles of those who had been shot were still working and contracting, making the bucket jump about.

This is Filip Müller, Claude Lanzmann's great "witness."

Another "witness," Jan Karski, talks with emphasis about the Warsaw Ghetto, but doesn't *say* anything. It is unfortunate that Lanzmann did not let us hear about Karski's supposed experience at the camp at Belzec, after which Karski claimed that Jews were killed there in railway cars with quicklime. Raul Hilberg would later say that "I would not mention him in a footnote" ("Recording the Holocaust," *The Jerusalem Post International Edition*, June 28, 1986, p. 9).

"Witness" Raul Hilberg is much more interesting. Lanzmann has been criticized for devoting film time to this American professor, of Austrian-Jewish origin, who had no first-hand experience of the camps. Hilberg is the high priest of the Exterminationist view. He is the man who ended up by acknowledging that there was no order or plan or budget for the extermination of the Jews. He nevertheless believes desperately in such an extermination. His despair as an intellectual is particularly interesting. A careful viewer of the film can observe the extent to which Hilberg resorts to pure speculation to defend his theory. This is especially obvious when he talks about the German railways, which he says brought Jews from Warsaw to Treblinka in the most open and undisguised way. He recalls the precise hours of departure and arrival. And he concludes . . . that this is how the Jews were sent to the gas chambers of Treblinka. At no point does he prove to us that Treblinka had such gas chambers.

"Witness" Franz Suchomel is a former sergeant at Treblinka. As long as he talks about things other than the so-called homicidal gassings he is relatively precise. When he gets to the subject of gas chambers he becomes vague. He does not make clear their locations, their size, or how they operated. Sometimes he talks about the "gas chamber" and sometimes about the "gas chambers" without Lanzmann asking him to explain that ambiguity. He does not even

reveal what kind of gas it was. He talks about "motors." The legend which has been accepted is that there was a "Diesel engine" there (Gerstein). But a Diesel engine is not appropriate for asphyxiating people. He never talks about having been present at a gassing. He says that on the day of his arrival "just at the moment when we were passing by, they were in the process of opening the doors of the gas chamber . . . and the people fell out like sacks of potatoes." Therefore, at most he saw some bodies. Nothing would have justified him in claiming that the place was a gas chamber. He had just arrived. At best he was reporting a guess. Besides, everything that he says implies that in this camp there were some Jews, some bodies, perhaps one or more funeral pyres and, probably, some showers and some disinfection gas chambers. He shows a portion of a plan but only very vaguely. What is this plan? He talks authoritatively about gassings at Auschwitz, where he never set foot. He talks with equal authority about the gassings at Treblinka, but never as an eyewitness. He is like those self-taught persons who show off the results of their reading on a given subject, but are confounded by a simple, direct and precise question. But Lanzmann never asks Suchomel that kind of question.

Since the myth of the gas chambers is in danger, Exterminationists have a tendency to fall back on the story of the "gas vans." Claude Lanzmann often takes us for a ride on these too. It is perhaps on this subject that his "witnesses" are the most improbable and contradictory. In order to save the day for the Exterminationists, Lanzmann forces us to listen to the reading of a document (he, who did not want documents) about the "special Saurer vans." There is only one problem: he has seriously distorted the text, trying in particular to remove its most obvious absurdities. Specialists will find the complete document in *NS-Massentötungen durch Giftgas* [NS Mass Killings by Poison Gas], (S. Fischer, 1983), pp. 333-337.

Treblinka: Not Secret at All

The brave Polish peasants from the vicinity of Treblinka and the locomotive engineer all seem to have been especially dazzled by the wealth of the Jews who arrived on the trains. If they thought that the Germans were going to kill the Jews, they believed that it would be done mainly by strangling or hanging them. Not one peasant nor the mechanic actually witnessed homicidal gassings. Now such gassings on such a scale could hardly have escaped their attention. There was nothing secret about Treblinka, located only 100 kilometers from Warsaw. Richard Glazar, questioned by Lanzmann, does not say in the film what he confided to historian Gitta Sereny Honeyman: all the Poles between Warsaw and Treblinka must have known the area. They, and especially the peasants, went there to sell things to the Jews in the camp. Polish prostitutes catered to the

Ukrainian guards. Treblinka was a real "circus" for the peasants and the prostitutes. (*Into That Darkness*, London, Andre Deutsch, 1974, p. 193).

Lanzmann fears the Revisionists. He has said: "I often meet people who say *Shoah* is not objective because it does not show interviews with those who denied the Holocaust. But by trying to discuss that point, you will find yourself caught in a trap" (*Jewish Chronicle*, 6 February 1987, p. 8).

In fact, on those rare occasions when Revisionists have been able to draw Exterminationists into a discussion, the latter have not done well. But the general public understands less and less why Exterminationists refuse to discuss the issues on radio or television. If the Revisionists tell lies, why not refute them in public? Besides, are they telling lies? Wasn't it Serge Klarsfeld himself who recognized that no one has yet *published* "real proofs" of the existence of the gas chambers but only "beginnings of proofs" (*VSD*, 29 May 1986, p. 37)?

The last war with Germany ended on May 8, 1945. But some people apparently think that it is necessary to continue that war by continuing to spread the horrible inventions of war propaganda. They carry on the war by means of trials or through the media, which more and more increase their Holocaust drumbeating. It is time they stopped. They have already done too much. Peace and reconciliation demand a different kind of behavior. "Shoah business" is leading us all into a dead end. The younger generation of Jews has better things to do than to wrap themselves up in the absurd beliefs of the Holocaust religion. Their refusal to become interested in the film *Shoah* would be, if confirmed, a first sign of the younger generation's rejection of the official mythology, at least about the Second World War and its results.

SHOAH: AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE HOLOCAUST. THE COMPLETE TEXT OF THE FILM by Claude Lanzmann. Preface by Simone de Beauvoir. Translated by A. Whitelaw and W. Byron. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985, xii + 200 pp, hb, $11.95, ISBN 0-394-55142-7.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

Since *Shoah* the movie rolled on for a seemingly interminable nine and a half hours, readers of *Shoah* the book may be pardoned for surprise on finding that this misbegotten offspring of the movie encompasses every word spoken, sneered, and sung in the original. There's a lot of white on these two hundred pages, too,

together with seventeen uncaptioned stills, which convey a fair idea of the visual insipidity of *Shoah*.

In his introduction, filmmaker Claude Lanzmann speaks of "this naked and bloodless text," which he claims "a strange force seems to have filled . . . through and through." Without speculating overmuch as to the nature of the strange force, a careful reader will quickly conclude that it wasn't concern for accuracy. The first line of the text proper (p. 3) places Chelmno on the Narew River rather than on the Ner, where it was actually located. This error is repeated throughout, even in the dialogue (p. 15) of alleged Chelmno "survivor" Simon Srebnik, who is supposed to have regularly paddled up the Ner to gather alfalfa for the SS rabbit hutch. The town of Chelm (German Cholm), near Sobibor, is identified as Chelmno (p. 39), a curious mistake in a book which views the fate of Polish Jewry as its central concern: the proverbial simplemindedness of the Jews of Chelm is a staple of Yiddish folklore.

Similarly, Kurt Gerstein's "Heckenholt," the alleged superintendant of gassing at Belzec, here puts in an appearance as "Hackenhold" (p. 62), while his commander, Odilo Globocnik, is referred to as "Globocznik," even when his name is in the mouth of the German state prosecutor at the Treblinka trial (p. 65). It almost goes without saying that Lanzmann follows many Exterminationist experts in referring to a non-existent *Aktion Reinhard* (p. 65), their name for the operation which bears its correct name, *Aktion Reinhardt*, in all but a couple of places in the documents relating to the operation translated in *The Trial of the Major War Criminals* (vol. 34, Doc. 4024-PS, pp. 58-92). The difficulty Lanzmann and such Exterminationist "scholars" as Lucy Dawidowicz, Yitzhak Arad, Martin Gilbert, et al. have in spelling *Aktion Reinhardt* is exceeded only by their inability to interpret correctly what the operation consisted of.

For the Polish town of Dabie, one finds the semi-phonetic, but otherwise unwarranted, spelling "Dombie" (p. 84). One hopes that Dr. Raul Hilberg didn't say "Bahnhofe" for "Bahnhöfe" (p. 139), or "Mittel Europäisch Reisebüro" for "Mitteleuropäisches Reisebüro" (p. 143). "Volhynia" (p. 80) is rendered "Wohlnia," "Heydebreck" appears as "Heidebreck" (pp. 160, 164), and we read "Obersharführer" for "Oberscharführer" (p. 147).

Minor lapses? Not in a translation of the "complete text" of a film that was years in the making and lavishly financed from a number of sources, including by American taxpayers, through their subsidization of Israel.

As Professor Faurisson has pointed out in regard to Lanzmann's use of the "gas-van" document, Lanzmann has not shrunk from textual falsification. Nor is that the only place where he

misrepresents a text. On page 83, we read: "Claude Lanzmann reads a letter in front of a building that was formerly the Grabow synagogue. On January 19, 1942, the rabbi of Grabow, Jacob Schulman, wrote the following letter to his friends in Lodz:

> My very dear friends, I waited to write to confirm what I'd heard. Alas, to our great grief, we now know all. I spoke to an eyewitness who escaped. He told me everything. They're exterminated in Chelmno, near Dombie [*sic*], and they're all buried in the Rzuszow forest. The Jews are killed in two ways: by shooting or gas. It's just happened to thousands of Lodz Jews. Do not think that this is being written by a madman. Alas, it is the tragic, horrible truth.
>
> 'Horror, horror! Man, shed thy clothes, cover thy head with ashes, run in the street and dance in thy madness.' I am so weary that my pen can no longer write. Creator of the universe, help us!

The Creator did not help the Jews of Grabow. With their rabbi, they all died in the gas vans at Chelmno a few weeks later. Chelmno is only twelve miles from Grabow" (p. 84).

There is in fact serious question as to the text of this purported letter, and whether it ever existed. Lucjan Dobroszycki, in *The Chronicle of the Lódź Ghetto 1941-1944* (Yale University Press), states: "Grabów's [*sic*] letter and the means by which it reached the ghetto have never been thoroughly investigated. Our knowledge of it comes not from contemporaneous sources but from three mutually contradictory post-war accounts" (p. xxi). Doroszycki goes on to supply a translation of "the full text of the letter" which is twice as long as Lanzmann's text and differs from the version in *Shoah* in several important particulars. Where Lanzmann has ". . . they're all buried in the Rzuszow forest," Dobroszycki's text, translated from the official Polish *Dokumenty i materialy z czasów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 1: *Obozy* [Documents and Materials from the Time of the German Occupation in Poland, vol. 1: The Camps] (Lodz, 1946), reads "people are kept in the nearby forest of Lochów" (Dobroszycki, p. xxi).

Where Lanzmann reads, "It's just happened to thousands of Lodz Jews," Dobroszycki's text is as follows: "Recently, thousands of gypsies have been brought there from the so-called Gypsy camp at Lódź and the same is done to them." Other variant texts of this alleged letter are to be found in Walter Laqueur's *The Terrible Secret* (Penguin Books, New York, 1982), Leon Poliakov's *Harvest of Hate* (Syracuse University Press, 1954), and Martin Gilbert's *The Holocaust* (Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1985).

Connoisseurs of Exterminationist absurdity will relish Raul Hilberg at his most absurd in *Shoah*, as when Hilberg informs readers that the orders relating to what he calls "death trains"—actually resettlement trains for Jews moving eastward—bore a very low classification, "*Nur für den Dienstgebrauch*" [For internal

use only] . The professor proceeds to unravel this anomaly by concluding "that had they labeled it secret, they would have invited a great many inquiries from people who got hold of it. They would then perhaps have raised more questions; they would have focused attention on the whole thing" (pp. 138-139). Those diabolical Nazis! (Here's grist for a disertation in Holocaust studies: *Edgar Allen Poe's* The Purloined Letter: *A Neglected Literary Influence on Holocaust Planners?*)

Dr. Hilberg's theory in this connection is even more interesting in the light of a recent study of *Aktion Reinhard* [*sic*] he contributed to a book entitled *Der Mord an den Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg* [The Murder of the Jews in the Second World War] (edited by Eberhard Jäckel and Jürgen Rohwer, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, 1985). There (p. 130) Hilberg informs us that there could be no budgetary title for the "death camps" of "Aktion Reinhard"—Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka—resulting in "materials for their construction and operation [having been] fragmentary and minimal" [reviewer's translation], so that they would "remain financially unobtrusive."

When the reader reminds himself that all this was going on at a time at which Allied propagandists were trumpeting news of the "Final Solution" to the entire world, he will better grasp what Arthur Butz means when he writes of "the remarkable cabbalistic mentality" of Hilberg and his fellow Exterminationists in the foreword to *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century.* And he will perhaps be reminded of the words of the descendant of a long line of rabbis, Karl Marx, in another connection: "All that is not solid melts into air."

REBEL PATRIOT: A BIOGRAPHY OF FRANZ VON PAPEN by Henry M. and Robin K. Adams. Santa Barbara, CA: McNally and Loftin, 1987, 513 pages, $29.95, ISBN 0-87461-065-6.

Reviewed by Georg Franz-Willing
Translated by Russ Granata

Professor Henry M. Adams (University of California, Santa Barbara), born in 1907, first met Franz von Papen while a student in Berlin in 1931. Adams had befriended Franz von Papen's son, who bears the same name as his father, during the previous years, when both were studying at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

In 1957 Adams contacted his friend from his university years once again, with the intent of writing a biography of his father, the former German chancellor. The elder von Papen agreed to cooperate, but pointed out that his private papers had been lost when his home at Wallerfangen (Saarland) was destroyed at the end of 1944. Adams had himself taken part in the fighting in Saarland as an American officer. He visited von Papen in 1958, and the two corresponded throughout the following decade, during which Adams was a frequent guest of Papen's.

Professor Adams is thoroughly conversant with modern German history. His *Prussian-American Relations 1775-1870* (Western Reserve University Press) appeared in 1960, and was later published in Germany by Holzner Verlag under the title *Die Beziehungen zwischen Preussen und den Vereinigten Staaten 1775-1870.* Four years later the same publisher released his *Recht in Dienste der Menschenwürde* [Law in the Service of Human Dignity]. Professor Adams contributed the chapter "World War II Revisionist" to the massive festschrift *Harry Elmer Barnes: Learned Crusader* (Ralph Miles, Publisher, Inc.), and has written numerous articles for historical journals.

With the active assistance of his wife, Robin Adams, Professor Adams has spent decades researching the extensive source material in both German and American archives, including the records of the postwar Nuremberg trials, the denazification hearings, and other proceedings. Adams also consulted Papen's personal notes and those of his wife, as well as his voluminous correspondence, for this biography. He has not neglected the published archives or the pertinent historiographical literature, while making good use of newspapers, in particular American ones, which are a valuable contemporary source for the period 1914-1917 and the years following the Second World War.

Adams' guiding principle as historian and biographer is the dictum of Leopold von Ranke: "to show how it really was." As Adams wrote in a letter to Papen at the beginning of his researches, an objective and plausible treatment of Papen the man would be impossible without sympathy and understanding. The entire generation which has elapsed between 1957 and the 1987 publication of this lengthy biography is an indication of the care and effort which Professor Adams and his wife have devoted to *Rebel Patriot.*

The long and eventful life (1879-1969) of Franz von Papen, whose personal destiny was closely linked by his political activity with that of the German nation and people, can be easily divided into the following periods: the Imperial era and the First World War, the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich and the Second World War, and the postwar decades.

Papen sprang from an old Westphalian family which had its estate at Werl. Opting for a military career, he became an officer of the General Staff before the First World War. In 1914 he began his political career as a military attaché in the United States and Mexico. His work in this capacity affords an informative insight into Britain's brutal policy of refusing to observe American neutrality, as well as into the animosity, first covert but increasingly undisguised, of the American government led by President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing. American hostility to Germany grew under the influence of the powerful propaganda campaign against the Central Powers waged by the British, whose increasingly numerous chicaneries included frequent violations of international law.

The growing pressure exerted by the British, coupled with the rising enmity of the American government, forced Berlin to recall Papen, its military attaché, and Boy-Ed, Germany's naval attaché, at the end of 1915. The neutral ship on which Papen returned was searched in the British port of Falmouth. In a crude violation of international law, Papen was forced to disrobe for a body search and all his papers were confiscated.

From February 1916 until May 1917 von Papen served as a battalion commander on the Western front. He was then transferred to the Turkish front in Palestine, where he was chief of staff to the Fourth Turkish Army at the war's end.

In 1919 Papen returned home, where he took an active part in politics. His interest in agrarian policy led him to join the Catholic Center Party. Elected a deputy to the Prussian Diet, Papen also became influential at *Germania*, the chief organ of the Center Party. On June 1, 1932, he succeeded Brüning as Reich chancellor, at a time when the parliamentary system had already collapsed. The failure of Germany's political parties had already forced Reich President Hindenburg to shift to an authoritarian regime with the Brüning government. The grave economic crisis, with its massive unemployment, and conditions which verged on civil war confronted Papen with problems which could no longer be solved by normal consititutional means. Therefore, he was ousted at the end of November 1932 by the "Chancellor Maker," General Schleicher, the gray eminence of the last years of the Weimar Republic.

The polarization of internal political opposites embodied in the two antiparliamentary mass movements—the Communists and the National Socialists—had given rise to notions of a coup d'etat in Reichswehr circles. The Reichstag majority of the two radical parties, at opposite ends of the political spectrum, rendered parliamentary democracy incapable of ruling. The elderly Reich president preferred a constitutional solution to one which would violate the Weimar constitution. Thus he agreed to a proposal by Papen, a trusted advisor, to enlist National Socialist participation in

the new government, several of whose ministers had served in Papen's "government of national cooperation" in 1931.

As the strongest party, the National Socialists were entitled to the office of chancellor. In order to evade the threat of a one-party dictatorship which loomed from the revolutionary Hitler movement, only two National Socialists besides Hitler were named to the cabinet: Dr. Frick as minister of the interior and Hermann Göring as minister without portfolio. The three National Socialists were "boxed in" by seven conservative cabinet members. Hindenburg and Papen saw this as sufficient insurance against revolutionary encroachments by the National Socialists.

Adams describes the dramatic events relating to the formation of the "Government of National Concentration" (out of members of the German National People's Party and the "Stahlhelm," a veterans' party, as well as the three National Socialists) with superior expertise and objectivity. When the conservatives, led by Hindenburg and Papen, were overwhelmed by the dynamism of the National Socialist mass movement in March 1933, Papen's office of vice chancellor became a department for complaints against the revolutionary excesses of the National Socialists. The title of Adam's biography, *Rebel Patriot*, has been well chosen in view of the vice chancellor's protest role and his bold efforts to build a dam against the revolutionary flood waters. He was successful in only one respect: by the *Reichskonkordat* of July 1933 he was able to secure the legal status of the Roman Catholic Church. Papen made further attempts to divert the revolutionary high tide into legal channels by his tireless efforts as vice-chancellor; in 1933 Hitler himself shared this concern.

Papen is famous for his speech of June 1934 at Marburg, in which he took a brave, public stand against the anti-Christian and anti-Jewish activities of the National Socialists. Two weeks later his civic courage nearly cost him his life. It was only through a fortunate coincidence that he escaped death during the "Night of the Long Knives," the bloody purge of the S.A.'s leadership on June 30, 1934, which was accompanied by a similarly bloody suppression of the conservative opposition. Two of Papen's associates were murdered. In protest, Papen resigned from the government. Several weeks later, the death of the aged Reich president, Hindenburg, removed the last hindrance to the revolutionary regime.

Thereafter Papen returned to the diplomatic service, in order to serve and help his sorely tried fatherland from abroad. His first assignment was the delicate one of establishing friendly relations between the two neighboring German states. He served in Vienna until March, 1938.

In the following year Papen was dispatched to Turkey where he served as Germany's ambassador. In 1941 he succeeded in bringing

about a German-Turkish friendship treaty; he was able to preserve Turkish neutrality until the summer of 1944, despite the overwhelming pressure of the Anglo-Saxon powers. When British insistence finally caused Turkey to break off diplomatic relations with Germany at the start of August 1944, Papen was accorded full diplomatic honors on his departure.

After his return to Germany, Papen played an active role in the defense of the Saarland. He was arrested by the Americans in April 1945 and forced over the next four years to run the gauntlet at Nuremberg, where the vengeful victors staged their political inquisition (the "Trial of the Major War Criminals"). Papen was acquitted of all charges, but his persecution continued at the hands of no less vengeful domestic enemies in the form of West German denazification tribunals. After withstanding the appeals process, he regained his freeedom in February 1949.

Papen was a prolific writer until the end of his life. He published his memoirs in German in 1952 (*Der Wahrheit eine Gasse* [A Path for the Truth]), which was published in English shortly afterward as *Memoirs*. Among other writings, he published a series of articles in the Spanish periodical *ABC*. Despite his acquittal at Nuremberg and his release from detention after being "denazified," Papen was forced to wage additional battles in court to regain his civil rights.

The high regard in which the Vatican held Franz von Papen was expressed in audiences with Pope Pius XII and Pope John XXIII. The Turks continued to esteem him as well.

Papen published his final book, *Vom Scheitern einer Demokratie* [On the Failure of a Democracy], in 1968, the year before his death at almost ninety years old. Until the end he was forced to combat malicious attacks by opinion makers and "Vergangenheitsbewältiger," those West Germans who "come to terms with the past" by slavishly adhering to the dogma of Germany's sole and total guilt for the events of 1933-1945. Adams has done an excellent service in focusing on Papen's efforts in this regard, and in providing an illuminating account of the venomous political atmosphere of the postwar Bundesrepublik.

Rebel Patriot offers an overview of a lengthy portion of German and European history from the nonpartisan perspective of an American history professor. In this monumental work, Dr. and Mrs. Adams have memorialized not only Papen but also the German Reich and its tragic history in this century.

All that is required to restore some respect for historical truth are favorable opportunities, a bit of luck, and a few courageous authors and publishers.

—Harry Elmer Barnes,
Blasting the Historical Blackout, 1963

VERSCHWÖRUNG UND VERRAT UM HITLER URTEIL DES FRONTSOLDATEN: [CONSPIRACY AND BETRAYAL AROUND HITLER: A COMBAT SOLDIER'S VERDICT] by Otto Ernst Remer, Brigadier General, Retired [Generalmajor a.D.]. Preussisch Oldendorf, Federal Republic of Germany: Verlag K.W. Schütz, KG, Third Printing, 1984, 336 pages, illustrated, 42.00DM (about $20 U.S.), ISBN 3-87725-102/1.

Reviewed by H. Keith Thompson

A few exciting hours after the July 20, 1944 assassination attempt on the life of Adolf Hitler, Otto Ernst Remer, then an army major commanding the Berlin Guard Regiment, was ordered by General von Hase (a conspirator) to arrest Dr. Goebbels, propaganda minister and Gauleiter of Berlin. Remer relives for the reader the dramatic events that followed, detailing his personal involvement in those events and reporting on his subsequent in-depth study of the personalities and particulars of the several conspiracies against Hitler and Germany. From Remer's discussions with Hitler, who personally decorated him for bravery in action, Hitler is revealed as a concerned commander, receptive to and understanding of the problems and circumstances of the soldier at the front.

There is a definite continuity between Remer's wartime bravery and the enormous courage he has shown in his active politics and his writings in the postwar period. Germans—politicians, editors and others—must wrestle with the tortuous problem of how to pay homage to the "bomb plotters" and yet not dismiss the great sacrifices and sufferings of the vast majority of the German armed forces and population. The politicians and others therefore usually try to do a balancing act, attempting to distinquish between "Germany" and "Nazi Germany." Remer repeatedly and courageously points out the impossibility and utter hypocrisy of such distinctions. The Allies certainly did not make distinctions before, during, or after the war. Even the conspirators themselves finally learned that bitter lesson: "What we in the German resistance didn't really want to grasp, we've subsequently learned completely: the war really wasn't waged against Hitler, but against Germany" (former bomb plotter and *Bundestag* President Eugen Gerstenmaier in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 21, 1976, as quoted by Remer on p. 12).

In 1951, Remer published a book on the conspiracy of July 20, 1944. The present volume considers not only that one attempt but the entire network of betrayal surrounding Hitler and the Third

Reich. Remer is very familiar with the existing literature on the subject and cites numerous authorities, including David Irving.

General Remer unmasks the conspirators as a clique of cowardly, incompetent traitors. In individual and collective analyses of their perfidy, he contrasts them with the majority of German officers who remained loyal to their oath even though they were no less aware of Germany's desperate struggle against overwhelming odds than were the conspirators.

Some elements in the Federal Republic, particularly officials, have attempted to make "heroes" of the conspirators. Remer effectively removes that fake patina of saintliness, those fabricated halos placed on the heads of traitors. For example, new uniforms and equipment were scheduled for demonstration to Hitler at a military briefing. The plotters prepared explosives for concealment in the uniforms which the enlisted men involved in the demonstration would be wearing, and in the equipment they were to demonstrate. Hitler's schedule changed and the demonstration was cancelled. Remer does not fail to point out the ugliness in the grotesque spectacle of monocled general officers unwilling to put their own lives on the line but ready to sacrifice the lives of unknowing enlisted troops. Those soldiers were spared by fate. But, because of the treasonous activities of the conspirators, many other German soldiers were not so fortunate, as Remer shows in citing from battle casualty reports, and the postwar memoirs of many of the conspirators who admit that their doings cost the lives of German soldiers. The German campaigns in Crete and Norway, for instance, were successful. Nevertheless, the cost in German lives would have been far less if the conspirators had not revealed to the enemy, in advance, details of those and many other German military and naval operations.

Some conspirators waited for the fortunes of war to turn before becoming active traitors. Others, in high places long before the war began, have alleged that they wanted to show "the world" that there was "another Germany." Perhaps the presence of so many prominent and highly placed traitors in Germany encouraged Britain and France to make their absurd "guarantee" of Poland's ludicrous frontiers, and thus precipitate World War II. The treasonous activities of the various echelons of conspirators did nothing to keep the Allies from ruthlessly pursuing their objective, the destruction of Germany and the fixing of frontiers even more unnatural than those drawn after World War I.

Although the Allies (including the Badoglio Italians) never tire of producing self-glorifying films dealing with their own alleged World-War-II heroism, those same Allies have displayed some reluctance to show the July 20 conspirators in a heroic, noble light. Remer quotes from Scottish Pastor Peter H. Nicoll's book, *England's War Against Germany* (p. 501):

> One can understand the extreme severity of the proceedings against the conspirators. And no one can doubt that they would have fared just as badly in England if we had had to deal with them under similar, extreme circumstances.

Fortunately, the July 20, 1944 conspirators lacked character and courage. Consider the case of Count von Stauffenberg, who carried the bomb in his briefcase into Hitler's conference room and positioned it under the large table so as to do maximum damage to Hitler. But Stauffenberg was quick to leave the room and scamper away to save his life. Fate decreed that another officer, annoyed by the briefcase near his feet, unknowingly moved it into a position where it was less effective. The course of history was altered by the failure of Stauffenberg to see it through.

Many well-known Communists, like Sorge, were involved in conspiracies against Hitler and Germany. This is less surprising. Ironically, however, many of the conspirators, like Stauffenberg, belonged to the landed aristocracy. It is a further irony that most of the citadels of the "Junker" class were in *Ostelbien*, areas east of the Elbe, including Central Germany and former Eastern Germany, now divided between Poland and the Soviet Union after the postwar expulsions of the native German population. The aristocrats thus helped dig their own graves. There are lessons here to be learned by our own domestic liberals, anxious for a detente with Communism.

Privately, very privately, many Germans express contentment that Remer's voice is heard on the German scene. Because anti-Nazi fantasizing in the media is so prevalent and continues so intensely and unrelentingly, even Germans who, from personal experience, should know better, occasionally find themselves caught up in these horror fantasies, reacting as the media manipulators intend. Audiences are being mythologized and trained to approach the Third Reich the same way they see Dracula, Frankenstein, or space monster films, the same way they listen to the tormented ravings of the gypsy Azucena in Verdi's *Il Trovatore*, whose mother went up in flames and who threw her own baby into those fires. Obsessively she recounts and relives the flaming agony.

It is no wonder that Jews whose families haven't been in Europe for generations, and even non-Jews, have been so "holocausted," so hyped by relentless media onslaughts, that they are instantly ready to characterize the Third Reich as a horror story, a thing of "demonic forces" or "moral decay," supremely, uniquely evil. Remer has the courage to ask loudly, very loudly:

> What demons? What decay? What are you talking about? The moral values and attitudes we learned at home and in the Hitler Youth, the spirit that prevailed in Nazi Germany, was anything but "decadent," or "demonic" or in any way "evil" [Remer is here paraphrased, not quoted directly].

General Remer reminds many Germans of what they know to be true—that the Third Reich was a time of moral and physical renewal, of high standards in public morality, of discipline and integrity, of striving for ancient ideals and new forms in which to embody them.

If I had to choose any one word to characterize Remer, it would be *courage.* Others might be *honor* and *honesty.* In the late 1940's he organized, with Dr. Fritz Dorls, Dr. Gerhard Krüger and others, the *Sozialistische Reichspartei* (SRP), founded in October 1949. Gains were evidenced as early as July, 1950, when the SRP polled 19,960 votes in an election in Schleswig-Holstein. In June of the following year, the SRP polled 366,790 votes in Lower Saxony. This show of strength by Remer, in a defeated, dismembered country still in the throes of the "denazification" and "re-education" imposed by the Allies, brought down massive suppression and persecution by the Bonn regime, which ultimately outlawed the legally constituted politcal party. This reviewer had first-hand experience of that period as the SRP's U.S. agent, and was active in attempting to counter the various legal actions against Remer and others.

General Remer is still politically active today as head of *Die Deutsche Freiheitsbewegung* [German Freedom Movement]. The movement publishes a newsletter, *Der Bismarck-Deutsche* [The Bismarck-German], from Postfach 1210, D-8950 Kaufbeuren. Just as good, safe relations with Russia were a cornerstone of Bismarck's foreign policy, Remer and his organization advocate total European collaboration, from Iberia to the Urals, thus including Russia. In Remer's vision of a new, rejuvenated, united Europe, Great Britain and the U.S. would be excluded. Remer realizes that it was the Anglo-American power block, the British Empire (its Canadian and Australian dominions, its colonies, its African and Asian soldiers), and behind them the Americans, bemused by Jewish propaganda and cowed by Jewish pressure, who were twice instrumental in effecting Germany's defeat. The historical reasons for such a program are eminently understandable. Many geopolitical thinkers, for instance Francis Parker Yockey, were early supporters of this viewpoint. In 1988, few can fail to respect Remer's courage and honesty in advancing it. It is possible that he can become the inspiring, visionary leader needed by Europe to effect its liberation from the counter-cultural forces which now infest and occupy it, and guide it towards a future free of economic and armed conflicts.

With its detailed case histories, lists and statistics, and comprehensive bibliography, *Verschwörung und Verrat um Hitler* is an indispensable work for any study of the Third Reich and its internal enemies. Even if your German is limited, you should have this book. It is recommended for anyone interested in 20th-century heroism in the face of adversity, and for anyone capable of

appreciating individuals like Otto Ernst Remer, who embody political courage and vision, and even more important, personal courage and integrity.

[*Verschwörung und Verrat um Hitler*, from which General Remer's article in this journal was translated, can also be ordered from DDF-Buchdienst, Postfach 1210, D-8950 Kaufbeuren, Federal Republic of Germany (for an additional few dollars handling, General Remer will inscribe to order).]

HOLLYWOOD GOES TO WAR: HOW POLITICS, PROFITS AND PROPAGANDA SHAPED WORLD WAR II MOVIES by Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black. New York: Free Press/Macmillan, 1987, x + 374 pages, illustrated, $22.50, ISBN 0-02-903550-3.

Reviewed by Jack Wikoff

Propaganda may be defined as the attempt to manipulate public opinion for the purpose of helping or injuring a particular cause, individual or group. The propagandist seeks to control rather than to inform.

After reading *Hollywood Goes to War*, one cannot help but come away with the impression that the movie industry and various government agencies were very much in the propaganda business before and during World War II.

By the late 1930's the "Big Eight" Hollywood studios dominated the domestic and foreign markets. These corporations had created a vertically integrated industry. As authors Koppes and Black tell us:

> They controlled the entire process from casting and production through distribution (wholesaling) and exhibition (retailing). The Big Eight reaped 95 per cent of all motion picture rentals in the U.S. in the late 1930's. Their control over theater chains, particularly the all-important first-run urban houses which determined a picture's future, was critical.

Koppes and Black go on to explain briefly that:

> The men who guided the industry in its transition to big business were mostly Jewish theater owners, who were uniquely suited to the task. The playwright and screenwriter Ben Hecht once observed that Hollywood constituted "a Semitic renaissance sans rabbis and Talmud."

We are also informed that:

> In 1940 five of the fifteen highest salaries in the country went to movie people. Atop the greasy pole was the quintessential mogul,

> Louis B. Mayer, whose princely $1.3 million in salary and bonuses in 1937 probably surpassed the compensation to any other American executive.

The content of motion pictures became avidly internationalist and anti-isolationist long before Pearl Harbor. In 1938 United Artists released *Blockade*, a pro-Loyalist tale of the Spanish Civil War starring Henry Fonda. Catholic organizations protested the showing of this picture because of the pro-Communist Republican armies' record of atrocities against priests and nuns. Joseph Breen, the conservative Catholic journalist and head of the Production Code Administration, accused Hollywood and in particular the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League of an attempt to "capture the screen of the United States for Communistic propaganda purposes." He claimed the League was "conducted and financed almost entirely by Jews."

In 1939 Warner Brothers premiered *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*, which claimed in melodramatic fashion that Germany sought to conquer the entire globe. "Using semi-documentary techniques and long periods of narration, the film identified the German-American Bund as an arm of the German government whose purpose was to destroy the American Constitution and Bill of Rights." Fritz Kuhn, leader of the Bund, responded to this smear campaign with a libel suit for $5,000,000. After Kuhn was indicted and convicted for allegedly stealing German-American Bund funds, the suit was dropped. That these charges against Kuhn were politically motivated was indicated by the Bund's continued support of him. [See Peter Peel, "The Great Brown Scare," *JHR*, Vol. 7, no. 4, Winter 1986-1987—Ed.]

Also released in 1939 was *Beasts of Berlin*, capitalizing on the infamy of the 1917 film, *The Kaiser, Beast of Berlin*, which had sparked anti-German riots in many American cities during the First World War.

1940 and 1941 saw the appearance of such pro-war films as Charlie Chaplin's burlesque of Hitler and Mussolini, *The Great Dictator*, as well as *Man Hunt*, directed by German emigré Fritz Lang, *The Mortal Storm*, *A Yank in the R.A.F.*, *Sergeant York*, *I Married a Nazi* and a host of other titles. These pictures were an integral part of the vigorous campaign by various elements to get the United States into a war with Germany.

Interestingly, FDR's son, James, the president of Globe Productions, got into the propaganda business by distributing a British film titled *Pastor Hall*. This was a glamorized account of the anti-Nazi activities of Martin Niemöller, the "World War I U-boat captain-turned-pacifist-preacher." James added a prologue written by Robert Sherwood and read by none other than his dear old mom, Eleanor.

Intimate ties between Hollywood and the Roosevelt administration are further indicated by the following paragraph in *Hollywood Goes to War*:

> In August [1940] FDR asked Nicholas Schenck, president of Loew's (parent of MGM) to make a film on defense and foreign policy. By mid-October *Eyes of the Navy*, a two-reeler which a studio executive promised would win the president thousands of votes, graced neighborhood movie houses. Schenck's interest may have been personal as well as patriotic. His brother Joseph, head of Twentieth Century-Fox, was convicted of income tax evasion. President Roosevelt asked Attorney General Robert Jackson to let the studio chief off with a fine, and so did Roosevelt's son James, to whom Joseph had lent $50,000. But the upright Jackson insisted on a jail sentence. Schenck served four months before being paroled to the studio lot.

In September of 1941 a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate Commerce began hearings on "war propaganda disseminated by the motion picture industry and of any monopoly in the production, distribution, or exhibition of motion pictures." This investigation was instigated by the isolationist Senator from North Dakota, Gerald P. Nye. Chief counsel for Hollywood was Wendell Willkie, the internationalist and 1940 Republican presidential nominee. This last-ditch effort by the isolationists was too little and too late. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor three months later ended any question of more hearings.

Once the United States was at war with Germany, the studios churned out one anti-Nazi potboiler after another. An audience today is likely to snicker at such "classics" as *Hillbilly Blitzkrieg, Women in Bondage, The Devil with Hitler, I Escaped from the Gestapo, Hitler's Children, That Nazty Nuisance, Strange Death of Adolf Hitler, Enemy of Women, Hitler's Madman, The Master Race, The Hitler Gang, Hotel Berlin* and *Tarzan Triumphs*. Koppes and Black summarize the plot of *Tarzan Triumphs* as follows:

> Nazi agents parachute into Tarzan's peaceful kingdom and occupy a fortress, hoping to exploit oil and tin. Johnny Weissmuller, a slightly flabby but still commanding noble savage, rallies his natives (all of whom are white) against the Axis. "Kill Nadzies!" Tarzan commands the natives. They nod eagerly. The Germans are so despicable even the animals turn against them. Tarzan chases the head of the Nazi troops into the jungle, and, just as the fear-crazed German officer frantically signals Berlin on his shortwave radio, Tarzan kills him. In Berlin the radio operator recognizes the distress signal and rushes out to summon the general in charge of the African operation. While Tarzan, Boy, and Jungle Priestess laughingly look on, Cheetah the chimp chatters into the transmitter. Ignorant of the fatal struggle in the jungle depths, the general hears the chimp on the radio, jumps to his feet, salutes, and yells to his subordinates that they are listening not to Africa but to Der Fuehrer.

The roles of the sadistic, sex-crazed, bullet-headed, Nazi "Krauts" in these pictures were played by such Hollywood "heavies" as George Siegman, Erich von Stroheim, Walter Long and Hobart Bosworth. Actor Bobby Watson was kept busy playing the part of Adolf Hitler throughout the war.

To be fair, Hollywood did make some quality pictures out of the 2400 made from 1939 to 1945. Some of the few that come to this reviewer's mind are *Casablanca* (Warner Brothers, 1943), *The Story of G.I. Joe* (United Artists, 1945), and *Lifeboat* (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1944). It has often been said that the best war movies are usually made long after the war is over.

The Japanese fared no better at the hands of Hollywood's myth makers. In *Little Tokyo, U.S.A.* (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1942) all people of Japanese descent were portrayed as loyal to the Emperor and capable of sabotage and treason. This film wholeheartedly advocated the internment of all Japanese-Americans. At the end of the film, when an "all-American Los Angeles police detective" named Mike Steele has broken the Japanese spy ring, he does what every red-blooded American supposedly wanted to do, namely to punch out the Japanese villain, proclaiming "That's for Pearl Harbor, you slant-eyed . . ."

Coldblooded Japanese militarism was portrayed in *The Purple Heart, Guadalcanal Diary, Wake Island, Menace of the Rising Sun, Remember Pearl Harbor, Danger in the Pacific* and others. Koppes and Black remind us "It is a rare film that did not employ such terms as 'Japs,' 'beasts,' 'yellow monkeys,' 'nips,' or 'slant-eyed rats.'" Japanese soldiers were frequently shown about to rape white women, usually buxom blonds. Another frequent cinematic image was that of a Japanese fighter-pilot with buckteeth taking several machine-gun hits to the body, blood splattering his windshield, and screaming in agony as his plane plunged into the Pacific.

The height of absurdity in race-crossed casting appears in *Dragon Seed* (MGM, 1944) in which heavily made-up Caucasians, including a "slant-eyed" Katherine Hepburn, play Chinese, while real Chinese extras play the Japanese hordes.

In 1943 Warner Brothers premiered *Mission to Moscow*, based on the book of the same name by Joseph E. Davies, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1936 to 1938. The authors of *Hollywood Goes to War* characterize this picture as the "most notorious example of propaganda in the guise of entertainment ever produced by Hollywood." *Mission to Moscow* traces in pseudo-documentary style Davies' career as ambassador and the events taking place in the Soviet Union and worldwide from the mid-1930's through 1941.

The Roosevelt administration was intimately involved in the making of this picture, which represented FDR as a great internationalist and anti-fascist. Davies had power of script approval

and was ultimately responsible for *Mission to Moscow's* glossing over of Stalinist crimes. Davies insisted that the Soviet invasion of Finland be portrayed as happening at the "invitation" of Finland to the Soviets to occupy strategic positions against Germany. Likewise, other Soviet crimes of the 1930's are ignored or passed over: the invasion of the eastern portion of Poland in 1939, the aggression against Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and the forced collectivization of the kulaks (small farmers) in the Ukraine with the resulting starvation of millions of peasants. The film represented the Moscow purge trials as the result of attempts by Trotsky, Bukharin, Krestinsky and other "Old Bolsheviks" to sell out the Soviet Union to Germany and Japan.

Mission to Moscow used documentary film footage to add verisimilitude to this vintage "docudrama," which depicted the American isolationists as a small cabal plotting to thwart the people's will to "collective security." The Soviet Union was depicted as a land of plenty in contrast to National Socialist Germany's alleged chronic lack of food and consumer goods. The public was led to believe the Soviet Union was a "democracy" and the Russian people were "just like Americans."

Most of the major studios produced pro-Soviet films in the last years of the war, including *Song of Russia* (MGM, 1943), *Three Russian Girls* (United Artists, 1943), *North Star* (MGM, 1943), *Boy from Stalingrad* (Columbia, 1943), *Days of Glory* (RKO, 1944) and *Counterattack* (Columbia, 1945).

While the United States was at war, several overlapping and competing government bureaucracies sought to influence the content of motion pictures. Most influential was the Office of War Information, set up in 1942. Much of *Hollywood Goes to War* deals, in Koppes and Black's rather plodding style, with the relationship between the movie industry and the OWI. The Bureau of Motion Pictures played a role as well. The Office of Censorship, created by the Roosevelt administration to oversee the wartime censorship of mail, films, maps and other materials, could deny an export license for a movie. With forty per cent of an average picture's revenue coming from the foreign market, the Office of Censorship had considerable power over motion picture content, from script approval to final cut.

Hollywood Goes to War deals strictly with feature films made by the major studios and the bureaucracies involved in the motion picture production process. Koppes and Black do not cover training films and documentaries made by the Army and Navy with enlisted Hollywood personnel, studio-made short films, newsreels or animation. Nor is any mention made of the Field Photographic branch of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the predecessor of the CIA, created by William "Wild Bill" Donovan. Utilizing the

talents of such Hollywood directors as Budd Schulberg and John Ford, the Field Photographic branch collected "evidence" of alleged atrocities in German concentration camps captured at the war's end. This footage was used by the prosecution at the Nuremberg trials and in denazification films shown during the forced "re-education" of German citizens.

Without a doubt, the Hollywood studios wanted to contribute to the war effort and defeat of the Axis, yet at the same time the movie moguls did not want to be told how to run their monopolistic corporations. Most important to these film executives was the profit motive. In the early and mid-1930's the studios had altered the content of films to allow them to play in the lucrative German, Italian, Spanish and Latin American markets. 5,000 theaters in Latin America showed American films, 6,000 in Asia, and an astounding 35,000 in Europe. In 1935, when the National Socialist government demanded that foreign companies with offices in Germany hire only Aryan employees, the major studios complied.

The foreign market for Hollywood pictures diminished as National Socialist and Fascist political movements became more influential. The Nuremberg Laws banned German films with Jewish actors and actresses and limited the number of Hollywood films to 20% of the German market. The onset of World War II reduced the market for Hollywood's product even more.

The market began to expand as soon as Allied armies secured territory in the latter years of the war, and American movies were again shown in the newly "liberated" theaters. After the war's end the great studio system which had flourished in Germany from 1919 to 1945 was unable to rebuild in West Germany, and the internationalist film industry gained a virtually open market. In contrast, the Communist government of East Germany rebuilt a studio system that was now totally state-owned and-operated.

The authors of *Hollywood Goes to War* make it very clear that the power to shape the content of entertainment and information was extraordinary during World War II, when dissenting opinion was likely to be stifled and censored in the name of the "war effort." Unfortunately authors Koppes and Black do not question the motives which got the United States into World War II in the first place. They are also unduly critical of the motivations of the isolationists and tend to play down the influence of leftwing and Marxist elements in prewar Hollywood, especially among the screenwriters. Nevertheless, *Hollywood Goes to War* provides a strong picture of what happens when a powerful industry and government attempt to control public opinion. As expressed on the closing page:

> Hollywood had always claimed that it only gave the public what it wanted, and cited the movies' popularity as proof. But since the cartel

controlled the range of choice, Hollywood was saying only that the public bought what it was given.

CONFESSIONS OF A HOLOCAUST REVISIONIST by Bradley R. Smith. Los Angeles: Prima Facie, 1987, 118 pages + (vi), $11.95 Hb (ISBN 0-943415-00-4), $6.95 Pb (ISBN 0-943415-00-4).

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

When you see a title starting with the word *Confessions* nowadays, it's usually safe to assume that some sort of parody is being undertaken. The moral earnestness and the often excruciating self-revelations of an Augustine have long since given way to the posturings of a Rousseau or a De Quincey, not to mention such offspring as *Confessions of a Mad Housewife*, *True Confessions* magazine, etc.

Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist, by Bradley Smith, inevitably invites the same sort of scrutiny demanded by some many latterday "confessions," for Smith assumes a self-mocking stance virtually from the outset. In his preface he lets the reader know that he is overweight, self-indulgent, intellectually lazy, and endowed with a character "made up in part of all the bigotries and prejudices that have been identified and catalogued by the best people in the worst."

That's just the beginning. A vocal agnostic who once stood trial for selling Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*, Bradley Smith comes to join the Historical Revisionists in questioning the historicity of what moral and intellectual opinion makers of the age have assured us is the most terrible, the most significant, the most real event of our century: the Holocaust, in which six million Jews were systematically done to death in gas chambers and by other means at the decree of Adolf Hitler and at the hands of his henchmen, while a cold-hearted gentile world looked the other way. And, as the exegetes of the Holocaust haggadah never tire of informing us, Holocaust Revisionists are, if anything worse than, Holocaust perpetrators: for the Revisionists kill the six million yet again.

Yet Smith's account is not calculated to endear him to a good portion of the Revisionist camp either. Among his more disconcerting confessions is the story of how a "half-snockered" Smith (who is director of the Institute for Historical Review's Media Project) was "befuddled" by questions asked by the host of a radio

program on which he was explaining Holocaust Revisionism, shortly after he'd downed three rums on an empty stomach. Some Revisionists won't cotton to his statement that:

> If the people who now support Holocaust Revisionism come to power, however, I have little doubt that the new bullies of the age would be among them, or that I would be thrown out of their ranks, or that my new associates would then become those who despise me now.

Nor will many Revisonists be pleased at the spectacle of their spokesman being shown up intellectually by his aged mother and his Mexican wife, neither of them with any academic pretensions.

Is this confessional stance, however, simply another literary pose, an effort of a fifty-seven-year-old writer who admits that he's had little success, to curry favor with Revisionists, and simultaneously disarm the opposition, by presenting hinmself as a likeable, but harmless, buffoon?

Clearly not, for what shines through *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist* is the author's adamantine resolve to concede other persons their humanity all the while he struggles to free himself from the shackles of "belief, the mere habit of faith," which he has come to see as "the most degrading passion of the species." From the moment when Smith accepts a leaflet disputing Holocaust gas-chamber claims, we are made privy to an inner struggle in which the author must reconcile the conflicting claims raised by civility, tolerance, shame, courage, and intellectual integrity. Onlookers have heard the man who gave him the leaflet speak against the gas chambers; furthermore, in Smith's circle "one did not read material that made Jews feel uncomfortable." Nevertheless, Smith holds back from handing back the leaflet:

> At the same time, because of his honest and open manner, I didn't want him to feel ashamed by publicly rejecting him. I had never looked into the history of the Holocaust, had never examined any of the primary documents used to support the literature, so in my ignorance I felt I had no right, really, to believe or disbelieve any statement about it whatever. I didn't feel I had the right to embarrass another man simply because he doubted what I believed. If sincerity isn't to be taken seriously in human relationship, what is?

That night, alone in his room, "fearful and ashamed," Bradley Smith reads Robert Faurisson's *The 'Problem of the Gas Chambers.'*

What follows is a pilgrim's progress in which Smith, already a sceptic, is driven to confront the bases of his own thought and action. "There has never been a time in my life," he tells us, "when I have not believed something ridiculous. A libertarian who confesses to a certain self-indulgence ("I have always taken the easy way") and proclaims that "I have no program for others," Smith is nevertheless

stung by what he comes to see as the intellectual and moral abdication of the Establishment, particularly its journalists.

For many readers Smith's account of how he was driven to investigate the veracity of Holocaust claims by reading Faurisson, Arthur Butz, John Bennett (the man who started him off by handing him Faurisson's *'Problem of the Gas Chambers'*) and other Revisionist writers will doubtless be the easiest path to Revisionism. To their intellectual austerity and rigor Smith adds the all-too human dimension of the concerned but sceptical citizen, in Smith's case a libertarian who nevertheless possesses a profound sense of duty not only to humankind in general but in particular to the members of his own *polis*.

Smith's humanity—his bumptious refusal to be categorized or to accept the imposition of things that don't pertain to him—is of course what makes him so deadly a spokesman for Holocaust Revisionism. The Exterminationists he has confronted nearly one hundred times on talk radio shows have so far been unable to deal with a flesh-and-blood, Caucasian American male who can't be credibly dismissed as a "Nazi," a "Klansman," a "white supremacist," "a born-again Christian," and all the other strawmen they have found so easy to brush aside until now. Further, Smith's insistence on his right and his duty to *doubt* must be particularly afflicting to the Exterminationist high command, which has made clear in marching orders issued to its foot soldiers over the past several years that the new tactic is to characterize Revisionists as "Holocaust deniers," with all the added Freudian freight the term "denial" carries.

Smith handles the structure of this autobiographical reminiscence pretty deftly, cutting back and forth from the time of his first encounter with a Revisionist and Revisionism in 1979 to 1987, by which time he has become thoroughly enmeshed in his campaign to break the blockade of smear and silence that rings the growing literature of Holocaust Revisionism. The writer gives evidence of a rich inner life, and he has a wonderful ear for human speech. In one masterly stretch of prose he captures with near perfection an airplane conversation with a bright young Jewish woman flying home to Los Angeles from Harvard. To the practiced ear of this reviewer he hits scarcely a false note, and it's a good bet that even the most hardened anti-Semite will not feel for the Jewess' distress in forcibly confronting the real issues of the Holocaust, or that all but the most rabid Exterminationists will cringe a little with Smith in his initial embarrassment.

Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist comes not to an end but a caesura on page 118, where one reads "End of Part I." This already expanded version of a tabloid *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist* is, according to its author, to be shortly followed by Part II, which will range farther back into Smith's past, which has included service

as a combat infantryman in the Korean War (a strong vignette from which appears in the present book), work as a Los Angeles County deputy sheriff, a longshoreman, a merchant seaman, a bullfighter (in Mexico) and a stint as a freelance journalist during the Vietnam War which saw Smith swept up in the 1968 Viet Cong Tet offensive.

It's hard not to root for Bradley Smith, for he speaks in a voice that's unmistakably American. Self-schooled, hard-headed, he's called what's essentially an alien bluff by hanging tough with poseurs like Elie Wiesel, for the last thing that sainted laureate of the Holocaust would ever expect to hear from today's fashion in Americans would likely be Smith's (implied, anyway): "I'm from Missouri—show me." This twentieth-century American Diogenes, who wanders the world not with a lamp but with a mirror, in which even the grimacing visage of the Jewish Defense League's Irv Rubin is reflected to the possible edification of its unfortunate possessor, has turned the tables on those professors and philosophers who have instructed us for so many years on how Auschwitz has desacralized the world, how "there is no poetry after Auschwitz," by demonstrating that it is these pretentious Exterminationists who are slaves to a false dogma.

When Part II appears, it is to be hoped that the embarrassing, but not critical, erratum on page 22 is removed. Even more desirable would be an eye-catching dust jacket to cover the drab, mustard-yellow binding, which Bradley Smith will surely brandish to ill advantage on camera when he hits Donahue, or *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. But let not the purchasers of the first edition of *Confessions* lose heart: these homely little gems of Revisionist incunabula will some day be, if not costly collectibles, surely testimony that their buyers were early on attuned to a movement of intellectual liberation that is of world-historical importance.

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENT

West German Court Rejects Judge Stäglich's Appeal

WILHELM STÄGLICH

While an officer in a German anti-aircraft unit in 1944, Wilhelm Stäglich was for several months stationed in the vicinity of the Auschwitz concentration camp. The postwar doubts he expressed about alleged mass exterminations carried out at Auschwitz have led to twenty years of disciplinary proceedings, including his early retirement from the judiciary with a reduced pension, the banning from open sale of his book Der Auschwitz Mythos *(published in English by IHR as* The Auschwitz Myth*), and the notorious revocation of his duly earned doctorate in jurisprudence by the council of deans of the University of Göttingen, acting under the provisions of a law issued by Adolf Hitler. Dr. Stäglich reports below on his latest legal setback in his fight for justice in West Germany.*

On November 17, 1987 the Higher Administrative court (HAC) at Lüneburg rejected my appeal (Az, 10 OVG A 17/86) of the Administrative Court (AC) at Braunschweig's January 29, 1986 dismissal (Az. 6 VG A 219/83) of my pleas to regain my doctorate, which was withdrawn by the University of Göttingen. A writ of certiorari was not allowed. The grounds for rejecting my appeal are, in essence, as follows:

> A holder of the doctoral degree who, "under the cloak of scholarly activity" [*sic*] complies with the statutory provisions for the crimes of popular agitation (§ 130 *STGB*) and incitement to racial hatred (§ 131 *STGB*)" violates the "dignity inseparably bound with the doctorate" and misuses "the claim to scholarship" which arises from the doctorate; he thus demonstrates that he is unworthy to continue holding the doctorate.

These findings, which correspond neither to the facts of the case nor to the law, were signed by three judges, Dr. Jank (presiding), Dr. Heidelmann, and Dr. Greve. Their opinion was based on a law regarding academic degrees issued by none other than Adolf Hitler,

on June 7, 1939 (*RGBL.* I S. 985). The same law served the council of deans of the University of Göttingen as a basis for depriving me of my doctorate on March 24, 1983, without so much as granting me a personal hearing. Where does the state governed by the "rule of law" begin and the lawless state leave off?

The Administrative Court's ruling of January 29, 1986 had been based on a thoroughly false determination of the facts, as I amply demonstrated in a 34-page report which I submitted to the HAC. The HAC, although the trial court of last resort, nevertheless accepted the lower court's erroneous finding as to the facts of the case, which the AC had arrived at in violation of the applicable statutes. The HAC did not devote a single word to my strictly factual report. The higher court likewise disregarded the extensive legal argumentation of my attorney, who is especially competent in the subject matter. In my view the court's behavior satisfies the criteria for a perversion of the law (§ 336 *STGB*).

My attorney will file an appeal against the court's refusal to grant a writ of certiorari within the specified time period. There are a number of grounds for doing so. In particular, my case is of fundamental importance since to my knowledge it is the first time that an attempt has been made in the Federal Republic to deprive someone of a doctoral degree on purely political grounds, using a law established during the Third Reich. If the HAC ruling acquires the force of law, then every academic degree-holder who undertakes research in the treatment of the Jews in the war years after 1940, a treatment which Professor Helmut Diwald has characterized as "in its central questions still unclarified" (*Geschichte der Deutschen*, 1st edition, p. 165), must fear for his academic titles and honors. For according to the HAC opinion, "the cloak of scholarship" no longer allows, in contravention of Article 5, Paragraph 3 of the Basic Law [West Germany's provisional constitution—Ed.] unbiased research in this area. A truly shocking determination! Even such welcome Revisionist tendencies as have appeared in recent years among Establishment historians, in opposition to the historical line fostered by the victors of the Second World War, would then probably come to an end. Perhaps this was in fact the hidden goal of the entire process that has been directed against me.

Should the Federal Administrative Court [the highest administrative tribunal in the Federal Republic—Ed.] fail to reverse the HAC's scandalous ruling through a writ of certiorari, the last remaining legal remedy open to me is a constitutional complaint. Only then will we find out what the much lauded constitutional right of freedom of opinion and research really counts for in this country. To determine this, once and for all, is the only reason for carrying on my legal battle. I have ceased to care about my honorably earned doctorate, since my case has demonstrated that even the University

of Göttingen, so highly regarded both here and abroad, is today no longer the bastion of academic freedom it should be.

The Müller Document

ROBERT FAURISSON

Dr. Faurisson wrote the first part of this article as a challenge to the Exterminationist scholars who participated in a colloquium at the Sorbonne which took place from December 11 to December 13, 1987. The colloquium had been summoned by Alain Devaquet, France's former minister of research and higher education, in an attempt to counter the writings of Henri Roques, Robert Faurisson, and other Revisionists.

Needless to say, the colloquium avoided answering Dr. Faurisson's challenge; rather, the high-minded historian of classical antiquity, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, referred to Dr. Faurisson and his fellow Revisionists as "excrements," and Simone Veil spoke of "clowns." In the courtyard of the Sorbonne, Dr. Faurisson and several of his comrades were attacked and beaten by Jewish thugs for having dared to appear and distribute this challenge. At Dr. Faurisson's request, we have retained the future tense in publishing the text of his challenge to the Sorbonne Colloquium. Dr. Faurisson's report on his conversation with the man who produced and certified the Müller document, Emil Lachout, follows, together with an attempt to minimize the document's impact, issued under the auspices of the Austrian Ministry of Education, which only serves to confirm the document's veracity.

At the instigation of Alain Devaquet, a colloquium will take place at the Sorbonne from December 11 to 13, 1987, which will be devoted to: "The historical and methodological criticism of Revisionist writings about the Second World War" (*Valeurs actuelles*, October 26, 1987, p. 29).

The purpose of this colloquium is to condemn Historical Revisonism and all those who, in France and elsewhere, contend above all that there were never any homicidal gas chambers in the German concentration camps.

Besides A. Devaquet the following people will participate in the colloquium: Alain Finkielkraut, Alfred Grosser, Claude Lanzmann, François Bedarida, François Furet, Léon Poliakov, Georges Wellers,

Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Yehuda Bauer (Israel), Marlis Steinert (Switzerland), Christopher Browning (USA), Michael Marrus (Canada), Hans Mommsen (West Germany), Kurt Pätzold (East Germany).

I want to bring to the attention of the colloquium participants a document dated October 1, 1948, which has just been revealed by a former Austrian commandant, Emil Lachout, now residing in Vienna. This is the Müller document.

The Müller Document

After the war, Austria was divided into four occupation zones, and Vienna itself into four sectors: American, British, French and Soviet. The four Allied military police forces, with the agreement of the Austrian Federal Government, supplemented their forces with uniformed Austrian auxiliaries. The Soviet military police and its auxiliaries were headquartered at the Trost Barracks in Vienna. The Austrian auxiliary forces of the Soviets were under the command of a Major Müller (perhaps a veteran of the International Brigades in Spain). His second-in-command, from October 1, 1947, was Emil Lachout, a former medical officer in the *Volkssturm* [the German home guard raised toward the end of the Second World War—Ed.]. The Allied military police and their Austrian auxiliaries regularly received copies of the reports made out by the Alled Commissions of Inquiry on the concentration camps. Those reports were needed to conduct research on "war crimes." On October 1, 1948, Commandant Müller and his second-in-command, Emil Lachout, sent the following circular letter from Vienna to all interested parties:

Military Police Service — Copy

Circular Letter No. 31/48 — Vienna, 1 Oct. 1948
10th dispatch

1. The Allied Commissions of Inquiry have so far established that no people were killed by poison gas in the following concentration camps: Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Mauthausen and its satellite camps, Natzweiler, Neuengamme, Niederhagen (Wewelsburg), Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, Theresienstadt.

In those cases, it has been possible to prove that confessions had been extracted by tortures and that testimonies were false.

This must be taken into account when conducting investigations and interrogations with respect to war crimes.

The result of this investigation should be brought to the cognizance of former concentration camp inmates who at the time of the hearings testified on the murder of people, especially Jews, with poison gas in those concentration camps. Should they insist on their statements, charges are to be brought against them for making false statements.

2. In the C.L. (Circular Letter) 15/48, item 1 is to be deleted.

The Head of the MPS
Müller, Major

Certified true copy:
Lachout, Second Lieutenant

L.S. (place of the seal)

C.t.c.:
Austrian Republic
Vienna Guard Battalion
Command

(signature)

I hereby confirm that on 1 October 1948, being a member of the Military Police Service at the Allied Military Command, I certified the copy of this dispatch of the circular letter to be a true copy in pursuance of Art. 18, para. 4 AVG (General Code of Administration Law).

Vienna, 27 October 1987

(signature)

[A copy of the Müller document apppears on the following page.]

Eleven days earlier, on October 16, 1987, Emil Lachout had signed another certificate (signature certified to be true by a district court in Vienna), in which he declared in particular:

1. In many cases, which had been the object of complaints, confessions were obtained from German soldiers, in particular members of the SS, which, after investigation, turned out to have been obtained by torture or by brainwashing (also called menticide), if not false;
2. The statements of numerous internees had proved to be erroneous or hardly worthy of faith, since they originated, for example, from common criminals depicting themselves as victims of political or racial persecution and inventing atrocity tales to avoid having to serve the rest of their sentences; they could also originate from nationals from the East Block countries who, having been in labor camps and not in concentration camps, feared being accused of collaboration with the Germans;
3. The Allied authorities, after discovering those practices, took a whole series of measures for the control of the interrogations: in particular, they decided to involve the Austrian auxiliaries in that control, as well as doctors of the Austrian public health

ABSCHRIFT

Militärpolizeilicher Dienst Wien, 1.10.1948
10. Ausfertigung

R u n d s c h r e i b e n Nr.31/48

1. Die Alliierten Untersuchungskommissionen haben bisher festgestellt, dass in folgenden Konzentrationslagern keine Menschen mit Giftgas getötet wurden:
Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Mauthausen und Nebenlager, Natzweiler, Neuengamme, Niederhagen(Wewelsburg), Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, Theresienstadt.
In diesen Fällen könnte nachgewiesen werden, dass Geständnisse durch Folterungen erpresst wurden und Zeugenaussagen falsch waren.
Dies ist bei den KV-Erhebungen und Einvernahmen zu berücksichtigen.
Ehemalige KZ-Häftlinge, welche bei Einvernahmen Angaben über die Ermordung von Menschen, insbesondere von Juden, mit Giftgas in diesen KZ machen, ist dieses Untersuchungsergebnis zur Kenntnis zu bringen. Sollten sie weiter auf ihre Aussagen bestehen, ist die Anzeige wegen falscher Zeugenaussage zu erstatten.

2. Im RS 15/48 kann P. 1 gestrichen werden.

Der Leiter des MPD.:
Müller, Major

Für die Richtigkeit
der Ausfertigung:
Lachout, Leutnant L.S.

F.d.R.d.A.:

Republik Österreich
Wachkommando Wien
Kommando

Ich bestätige hiemit, dass ich am 1.Oktober 1948 als Angehöriger des militärpolizeilichen Dienstes beim Alliierten Militärkommando die Richtigkeit der Pundschreiben-Ausfertigung gemäss § 18 Abs.4 AVG beglaubigt habe.

Wien, 27. NOV. 1987

This document is reproduced from the Vienna, Austria periodical *Halt* (November, 1987).

administration, charged with examining the charges of torture. When the doctors discovered such cases, they drew up a report. Those reports were translated into English, French and Russian, then submitted to the Allies [who in turn did their own examinations of the victims];

4. In 1955, at the end of the Allied occupation, the Military Police Service was dissolved and the German military files were handed over to the Austrian Federal "Chargé d'Affaires" (Chancellory).

Questions About the Müller Document

If this document is genuine and if Emil Lachout is telling the truth, then one is entitled to raise a number of serious questions:

1) Does this document not constitute a verification of a revelation made by one Stephen Pinter in 1959? After the war, this American lawyer had worked for 17 months in Germany for the U.S. War Department. In 1959, he confirmed to a national Catholic weekly that, in the position in which he had found himself, he could state that there had never been any homicidal gas chambers in Germany and in Austria and that, as regards Auschwitz, the Americans had not been able to carry out any investigation there, because the Soviets did not allow it (*Our Sunday Visitor*, 14 June 1959, p. 15);

2) In 1960, Martin Broszat, a member of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, stated in a simple letter to the editor of *Die Zeit* (19 August 1960, p. 16) that there had not been any homicidal gassings either in Dachau or, more generally, in any of the camps in the Old Reich (Germany within her frontiers of 1937), which means to say that there had not been any gassings in such camps as Neuengamme, Ravensbrück, Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen as well. He did not present any evidence to substantiate this statement. Would his proofs not have been those reports of the above-mentioned Allied Commissions of Inquiry?

3) Assuming that the proofs, the testimonies, and the confessions concerning the 13 camps mentioned in the Müller document no longer are credible, why should the proofs, the testimonies and the confessions concerning Auschwitz retain all the credibility that has heretofore been attributed to them?

Les Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat

(The Gas Chambers, [A] State Secret)

In an attempt to give an answer to the Revisionist arguments, twenty-four authors published in 1983 a book with the title *NS-Massentötungen durch Giftgas* [NS Mass Killings by Poison Gas] (Frankfurt, Fischer Verlag); it was published in French the following year with the title: *Les Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat* (éd. de Minuit).

Three of its authors will participate in the Sorbonne colloquium: Willi Dressen, a prosecutor at Ludwigsburg, Anise Postel-Vinay, holder of a licenciate of letters, and Georges Wellers, of whom I did not succeed in finding out which university diplomas he has, and who usurps the title of "Professor of Physiology and Biochemistry at the Sorbonne" (p. 300).

The book is strange. Its title seems to mean "Readers, those gas chambers were the greatest of all possible secrets: state secrets. So, do not expect to find any proofs in the ordinary sense of the word, but rather elements of proofs (in Latin: *adminicula,* i.e. 'tiny proofs'), to be decoded according to a key which we will give you." The body of the book teems with *references,* but indications of exact *sources* are rare. The authors take scarcely any notice at all of the Revisionist arguments, which are essentially on the physical, chemical, topographical, architectural and documentary planes. On page 222 through 255, the authors claim to provide proofs, testimonies or confessions in support of the existence of homicidal gas chambers in the camp of Mauthausen and its satellite camps, as well as in Natzweiler-Struthof, in Neuengamme, Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg and Stutthof-Danzig.

How can we reconcile these statements in any way with the revelations of the Müller-document? What are we to think of the working methods adopted by these 24 authors? And to what extent do their proofs differ in any way from the system in the witch trials, where a quarter of a proof, plus a quarter of a proof, plus half a proof were supposed to equal one complete proof?

Michel de Boüard

In 1986, Michel de Boüard, former inmate at Mauthausen, honorary dean of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Caen, member of the Committee for the History of the Second World War, member of the Institut de France, said:

> In the monograph on Mauthausen that I published in *Revue d'histoire de la [Deuxième] Guerre mondiale* in 1954, I mentioned a gas chamber on two occasions. When the time of reflection had arrived, I said to myself: where did you arrive at the conviction that there was a gas chamber in Mauthausen? This cannot have been during my stay in this camp, for neither myself nor anybody else ever suspected that there was one there. This must therefore be a piece of "baggage" that I picked up after the war; this was [an] admitted [fact] but I noticed that in my text—although I have the habit of supporting most of my affirmations by references—there was none referring to the gas chamber . . . (*Ouest-France,* August 2-3, 1986, p. 6).

In response to the journalist's question:

> You were president of the Calvados (Normandy) Association of Deportees, and you resigned in May, 1985, why?

he said:

> I found myself torn between my conscience as a historian and the duties it implies, and on the other hand, my membership in a group of comrades whom I deeply love, but who refuse to recognize the necessity of dealing with the deportation[1] as a historical fact in accordance with sound historical methods. I am haunted by the thought that in 100 years or even 50 years the historians will question themselves on the particular aspect of the Second World War which is the concentration camp system and what they will find out. The record is rotten to the core. On one hand a considerable amount of fantasies, inaccuracies, obstinately repeated (in particular concerning numbers), heterogeneous mixtures, generalizations and, on the other hand, very close critical studies that demonstrate the inanity of those exaggerations. I fear that those future historians might then say that the deportation, when all is said and done, must have been a myth. There lies the danger. That haunts me. (Ibid).

Conclusion

What will be the response of the Sorbonne colloquium to Michel de Boüard's anxieties?

Will they, to start with, ask the French government to give free access to *all* archives pertaining to the alleged gas chamber at Struthof (Alsace) and will the Austrian Government do the same for Mauthausen (Austria)?

Supposing that the homicidal gas chambers never did exist, should we say so or should we hide it?

[1][In France the term "déportation" connotes not only deportation, but the experience of internment in the camps as well.—Ed.]

Further Information of the "Müller Document"

On December 5 and 7, 1987, in Vienna (Austria), I had an interview with Emil Lachout, who gave me some more information on the Müller document. May I be allowed to summarize this information as follows:

The Allied Commissions of Inquiry (to which Lachout himself never belonged, but whose reports he received on a regular basis) moved around in West Germany and East Germany, in France and in Austria. They examined in particular the former concentration camps as well as their archives, and they interrogated both former detainees and guards. They could not go to Poland, with one exception: that of Danzig, to see the camp of Stutthof-Danzig.

The Poles initially opposed an inquiry in this camp, but the Allies drove it home to them that before the war Danzig had been a "free city"; consequently, nobody could foresee what the final postwar status of this city would be. So the Poles caved in.

These commissions used to systematically dispatch their reports to all Allied authorities (French, British, American, Soviet) who, among other activities, had to occupy themselves with war crimes or war criminals (complaints, inquiries, interrogations, etc.). The more reports these commissions issued, the smaller grew the number of camps which were supposedly equipped with homicidal gas chambers.

Circular letter No. 31 of 1948 lists as many as thirteen camps which did not have such gas chambers. Circular letter No. 15 of the same year of 1948 numbered under its first point fewer than thirteen such camps; and for this reason circular letter No. 31 specifies that "Item 1 is to be deleted."

Emil Lachout affirms that he remembers Müller's reaction when the latter, in his presence, took cognizance of the sentence in circular letter No. 31 which states that charges must be brought against those who insisted on mentioning the existence of criminal gassings in these thirteen camps. Turning toward Lachout, Müller asked him whether or not this last sentence was necessary at all. Lachout replied to him that in the absence of a specification of this kind, they, he and Müller, would be assailed with requests for information as to what disposition was to be taken by all the authorities charged to deal with complaints or testimonies made by former deportees. Things had to be clear for them. Therefore this decision was made, which was finally approved by Müller.

Lachout confided one copy of this Müller document to an Austrian exteme right-wing periodical which reprinted it in November 1987. One month later, the Ministry for Education (Bundesministerium für Unterricht) disseminated a kind of warning for young Austrians. The text was signed by, most notably, Hermann Langbein, a leading personality of the International Auschwitz Committee. The authors of this text inadvertently confirm the veracity of the Müller document.

—Robert Faurisson February 1, 1988

KNOWLEDGE MAKES "HALT" UNSTEADY (WISSEN MACHT "HALT" HALTLOS)

Information for students against extreme right-wing propaganda.

"Final Solution"

After Hitler had started his war in 1939, there was no longer any chance for Jews to emigrate. The compulsory measures against them were dramatically aggravated. When the war was expanded to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, the "final solution"—the extermination of all Jews—began. Gas chambers were installed in the extermination camps in conquered Poland.

WISSEN MACHT „HALT" HATLOS

Eine information fur Schuler gegen rechtsextreme Propaganda

„Endlösung"

Nachdem Hitler im September 1939 seinen Krieg begonnen hatte, bestand für Juden keine Möglichkeit zur Auswanderung mehr. Die Zwangsmaßnahmen gegen sie wurden radikal verstärkt. Als der Krieg im Sommer 1941 auf die Sowjetunion ausgedehnt wurde, setzte die „Endlösung" ein – die Vernichtung aller Juden. Gaskammern wurden in den Vernichtungslagern im besiegten Polen installiert.

Das erste KZ

Sofort, nachdem Hitler im Jänner 1933 Reichskanzler geworden war, wurden Konzentrationslager eingerichtet – am 22. März 1933 als erstes Dachau bei München. Weitere folgten: Nach Österreichs „Anschluß" das Lager Mauthausen im August 1938. In all diesen Konzentrationslagern sind unzählige gestorben, getötet worden. In der Fachsprache werden jedoch als Vernichtungslager diejenigen bezeichnet, welche 1941/42 in Polen errichtet wurden; denn die dorthin Deportierten wurden unmittelbar nach der Ankunft in den Gaskammem gemordet, ohne je in den Stand des Lagers aufgenommen worden zu sein.

Vier Vernichtungslager richtete die SS ein: Treblinka, Sobibor und Belzec lagen in Ostpolen, Kulmhof (Chelmno) im Westen Polens bei Lodz.

Als die Periode der schnellen Blitzsiege zu Ende gegangen war, wurden immer mehr KZ-Häftlinge zu Arbeiten in der Rüstungsindustrie gebraucht. Darum entschloss sich die SS, die deportierten Juden vor der Eskortierung in eine Gaskammer einer Selektion zu unterwerfen. Wer arbeitsfähig zu sein schien, wurde als Häftling ins Lager eingewiesen, die Arbeitsunfähigen – also auch die Kinder, Kranken und Greise – wurden sofort getötet. Zum Zentrum dafür wurde ein Konzentrationslager bestimmt, das schon

Auschwitz

früher bestanden hatte: Auschwitz, etwa 60 km westlich von Krakau. Auch im KZ Majdanek bei Lublin wurde zeitweise selektiert und anschließend vergast. Diese beiden KZ's waren also gleichzeitig auch Vernichtungslager. Das weitaus größte – eben Auschwitz – wurde seither zum Synonym für die unvergleichlichen Verbrechen des nationalsozialistischen Systems. Darum konzentrieren sich die „Reinwäscher" vor allem darauf, die dort begangenen Verbrechen in Frage zu stellen, ja die Existenz von Gaskammern dort anzuzweifeln.

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Gesellschaft für POLITISCHE AUFKLÄRUNG

The First Concentration Camps

Immediately after Hitler had become Reich Chancellor in 1933, concentration camps were established—on 22 March 1933, the first c.c., Dachau, near Munich, was set up. Others followed: after Austria's "Anschluss," the camp Mauthausen was set up in August 1938. In all these concentration camps, countless people were killed. But in technical language, those camps, which were constructed in Poland in 1941/42, are described as extermination camps; for the deportees who were taken there were ordered into the gas chambers immediately, without having ever been registered in the camp files.

The SS installed 4 (four) extermination camps: Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec, situated in eastern Poland, Kulmhof (Chelmno) in western Poland near Lodz.

When the period of the blitzkrieg victories was over, more and more c.c. prisoners were required to work in the armament industry. For this reason, the SS decided to subject the Jews to a selection prior to their being escorted into a gas chamber. Anyone who appeared to be fit for work was directed into the camp as a prisoner, those who were unfit for work—this means also the children, sick and aged—were killed immediately. One particular concentration camp, Auschwitz, which had been in existence for some time, situated about 60 km west of Cracow, was determined to be the center for this [killing operation]. Selections and subsequent gassing were carried out at times in the c.c. of Majdanek as well.

So, these two c.c.'s were simultaneously also extermination camps. The far larger camp—Auschwitz—since become a synonym for the incomparable crimes of the NS system. This is why the "white-washers" predominantly concentrate their efforts on questioning the crimes which were committed there, yes, even on doubting the existence of gas chambers there.

What the reader must recognize is that, until now, the proponents of the Zionist line—whose "official" contentions on the horrors of war I have been following—have never been faced with arguments other than those from journalists, which have been often vague and specious, factors that have been the main reason for their lack of success. The only way to shatter their arguments was to set up against them the arguments of a specialist. And, that is what I have tried to do.

—Paul Rassinier,
Debunking the Genocide Myth

From the Editor (continued from page 4)

IHR Editorial Advisory Committee member Georg Franz-Willing and other contributors.

Readers will notice a somewhat smaller overall trim size in this issue. Previous issues were six inches by nine, but softcover book printers are beginning to favor dimensions of one-half inch less each way, rendering the earlier size economically impractical. The already more common 5½ by 8½ inch format is the "wave of the future," so we're told. We at IHR, who print and publish in forward-looking California, hard by the Pacific Ocean, wish to be in disharmony with the future and the present no more than with the past. Thus, we have consented to this minor abbreviation in size, with no sacrifice in text, but with slightly thinner margins. From here on in—with your approval, we trust—the new trim size will be standard for *The Journal* and its annual bound volumes.

We sincerely hope that the return of *The Journal of Historical Review*, together with the advances Historical Revisionists are making around the world, signals the onset of a tidal wave of historical truth, a Revisionist tsunami, which will sweep away decades- and age-old falsehoods, a wave that Revisionists and their supporters will ride high, wide and handsome to victory.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

About the Contributors

ALEXANDER V. BERKIS received a Master of Law degree from the University of Latvia in 1940. After coming to the United States, Dr. Berkis earned an M.A. (1954) and a Ph.D. (1956) from the University of Wisconsin. Dr. Berkis was professor of history for twenty years at Longwood College in Virginia. He is the author of two books in English, *The Reign of Duke James, 1638-1682* and *The History of the Duchy of Courland.*

ROBERT FAURISSON is Associate Professor of French Literature at the University of Lyon-2 in France. He specializes in the appraisal and evaluation of texts and documents. A frequent contributor to *The Journal of Historical Review*, Professor Faurisson has published numerous articles and books, including *Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?* and *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet.*

GEORG FRANZ-WILLING earned a doctorate in history at the Univesity of Munich. He has taught history at the naval academy of the Bundswehr in Flensburg and been associated with a number of scholarly institutes. Dr. Franz-Willing is the author of numerous books and articles on modern history, including *Die Reichskanzlei 1933-1945* and *Trilogie zur Entstehungs- und Frühgeschichte der Hitlerbewegung.* His most recent book, *Bin ich schuldig?*, is a

biography of Dr. Gustav Adolf Scheel, leader of the Reichsstudentenbund and Gauleiter of Salzburg.

R. CLARENCE LANG is a retired professor of German and history. He earned a B.A. at Wartburg College in Iowa and a baccalaureate of divinity from the Wartburg Seminary. After an M.A. in history at the University of South Dakota, he obtained a Ph.D. in history at the University of Kiel (Germany). Dr. Lang has served as an Evangelical Lutheran pastor in Canada and the Dakotas.

MARTIN A. LARSON received a Ph.D. in English literature at the University of Michigan in 1927. Throughout his life Dr. Larson has taken a keen interest in comparative religions, taxation and the monetary system. In 1980 he published *The Essene Christian Faith*, one of over 20 books he has authored. He makes his home with his wife in Arizona.

OTTO ERNST REMER was born in 1912 in Neubrandenburg, Mecklenburg. During the Second World War, Remer rose to the rank of brigadier general (Generalmajor), and received numerous combat decorations, including the Knight's Cross with Oak Leaf. After the war Remer headed the Sozialistische Reichspartei (Socialist Reich Party) until its suppression by the West German government. Today, General Remer is the leader of the Deutsche Freiheitsbewegung (German Freedom Movement).

HENRI ROQUES, a retired agricultural engineer, is sixty-seven years old. During the 1960's he became a close friend of Paul Rassinier, the father of Holocaust Revisionism. His longstanding interest in the history of the Second World War and the promptings of Rassinier led Roques to undertake a doctoral dissertation on the "confessions" of Kurt Gerstein, with results he has described here. The first man in the history of French university studies to have had his doctorate revoked by state decree, Mr. Roques makes his home in a suburb of Paris.

WILHELM STÄGLICH served as an antiaircraft officer in the German army during World War II. He received a doctorate in law (Dr. Jur.) from the University of Göttingen in 1951. Dr. Stäglich served for 20 years as a judge in Hamburg. He is the author of *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, which has been banned from open sale in West Germany, and which has been published in English as *The Auschwitz Myth* by the IHR.

H. KEITH THOMPSON, a graduate of Yale University, is the co-author (with Henry Strutz) of *Doenitz at Nuremberg: A Reappraisal*. He has been a frequent contributor to *The Journal of Historical Review*.

JACK WIKOFF is a writer and researcher living in central New York state.

Finally, an Honest History of WORLD WAR ONE.

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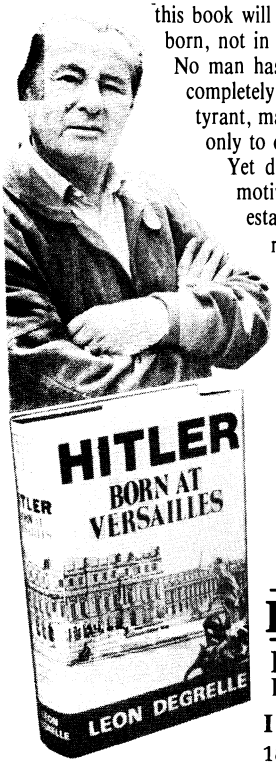

No man has done more to shape the twentieth century than Adolf Hitler, nor has any man so completely embodied its tangled leitmotives. Romantic and technocrat, man of the people and tyrant, master builder and pitiless destroyer who vaulted his nation to the heights of world power only to oversee its ruin, Adolf Hitler has been idolized and reviled as no other man of the age. Yet despite thousands of books about Hitler, no convincing portrait of the man and his motives has yet appeared. Now, Leon Degrelle, the charismatic scourge of Belgium's prewar establishment has combined his firsthand knowledge of Hitler and more than forty years of research in an unprecedented biographical project. This first volume, *Hitler: Born at Versailles*, inaugurates a series planned to comprise more than a dozen books, in each of which Degrelle will analyze an aspect of the Fuehrer's personality, career and times. No one with an interest in this turbulent century's most compelling and, until now, most enigmatic figure, will want to miss a single one of them.

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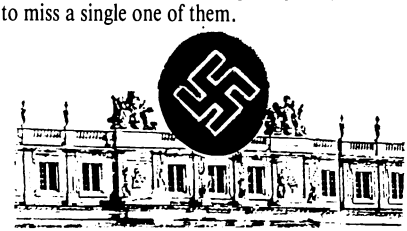

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